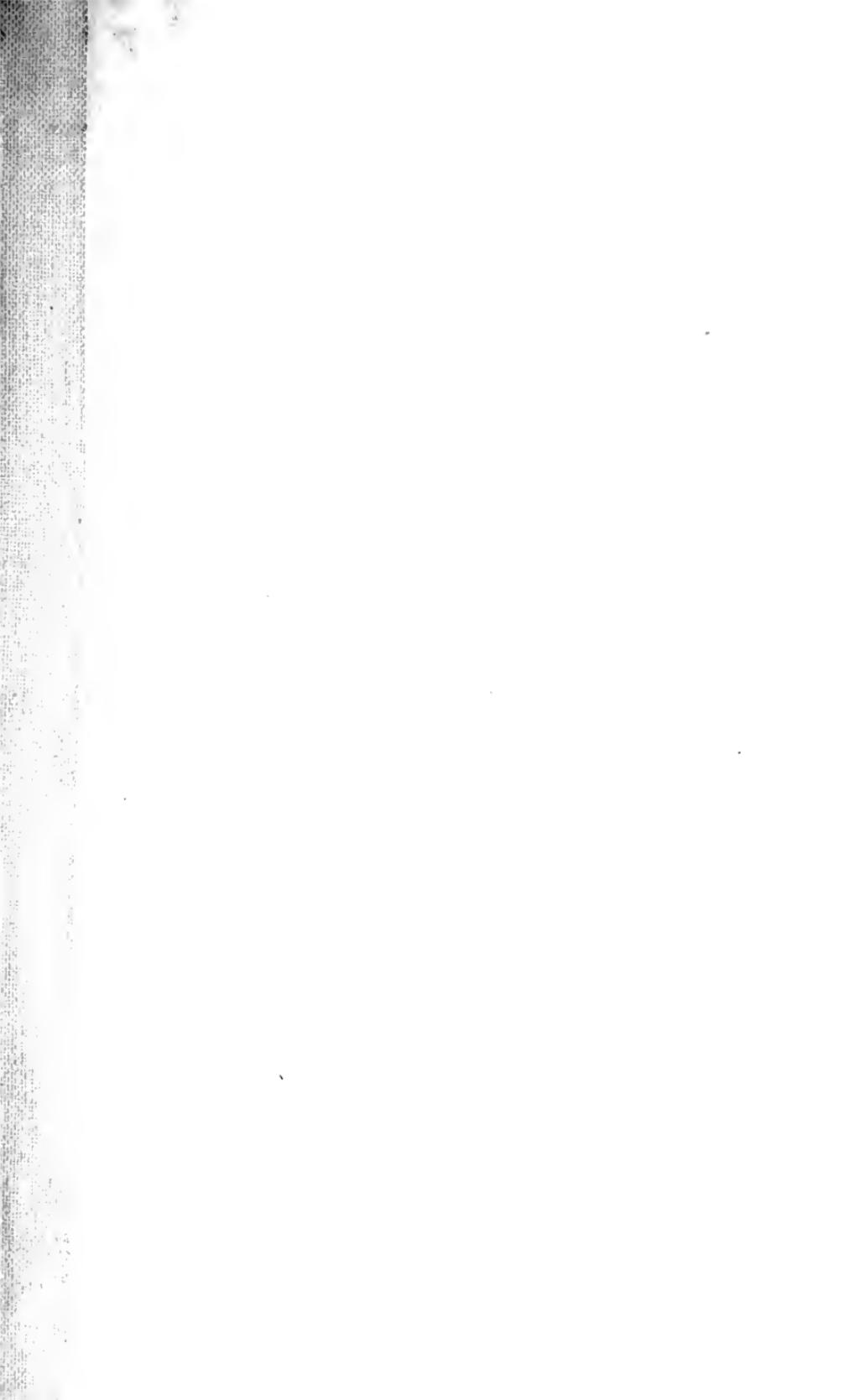


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Ratis Raving,

and

Other Moral and Religious Pieces,

in Prose and Verse.

~~Bentley~~
~~Pittie~~
~~S. S.~~

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Ratis Raving,

and

Other Moral and Religious Pieces,

in Prose and Verse.

EDITED FROM THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY MS. KK. 1. 5,

BY

J. RAWSON LUMBY, M.A.,

LATE FELLOW OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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P R E F A C E.

THE eleven pieces contained in this volume are from a MS. in the Cambridge University Library, marked KK. 1, 5. This volume consists of eight parts, and, as they have been separated lately, it may be useful to indicate the contents of each.

Part 1. The Boke of Polocye, by Christine de Pisan.

Part 2. The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, by Sir Philip Sidney.

Part 3. Ye grete lawis of Scotland of ye gude King David, the quilk laws are contenit in ye buke, the quilk be callit Regiam Magestatem.

Part 4. Ye copiis of the Roll of Ulerioun and ye Jugement of ye lawis of ye sea.

The law of Burch mayde throw King Davide Malcome Sone and Saynt Margaret.

A short Latin Poem beginning “Taurus cornutus ex patris germine brutus.”

A prophecy in Scottish verse. (Printed by E. E. Text Society.)

Beket's prophecy, with a Scottish Metrical Version. (Printed by the E. E. Text Society.)

Part 5. Bernardus de cura rei familiaris, with a paraphrase in Scottish verse. (Printed by E. E. Text Society.)

*Note.—*3, 4, and 5 are in the same handwriting.

- Part 6. (1.) The Craft of Deyng.
(2.) Ballad of Maxims.
(3.) Chaucer's "Flee from the press."
(4.) Ballad attributed to King James I. of Scotland.
(5.) Song.
(6.) Dicta Salomonis.
(7.) Advice of a Father to his Son (Ratis Raving).
(8.) The foly of fulys and the Thewis of Wysmen.
(9.) Consail and Teiching at the vys man gaif his sone.
(10.) The Thewis of Gud women.
(11.) The Vertewis of the Mess.

Part 7. Sir Lancelot of the Lak. (Printed by E. E. Text Society.)

Note.—6 and 7 are in the same handwriting.

Part 8. Miscellaneous extracts of Scottish Laws.

The present volume contains all the pieces included in Part 6 of the divided MS. It is written by the same hand, and is in the same Lowland Scottish dialect as the *Lancelot*, already edited by Mr. Skeat.

The first piece is a religious treatise in prose, called the "Craft of Deyng," and consists of directions and exhortations to be in preparation for death. At its commencement it exactly corresponds (except in dialect) to a MS. in the Cambridge University Library (Ff. 5, 45), also called "þe Crafte of Deyinge," which is ascribed in a modern hand to Hampole, but which an allusion made in the body of the work to the "Chaunceler of Parys" (*i.e.* John Gerson, who was appointed in 1395) shows could not have been Hampole's.

The second is a Ballad of Maxims, of which the most striking feature is the abundance of alliteration it contains.

Next is a Scottish version of Chaucer's well-known ballad, "Flee from the press."

The fourth piece, which is imperfect in the MS., the middle

stanza being omitted, occurs, with the Colophon, “Finis ¶. Quod King James the first, in ane Compentious Booke of godly and spirituall Songs,” Edinburgh, 1621. From this edition I have inserted the middle stanza, which of course is in a somewhat more modern form. In the notes another version will be found, which did not come to hand until after the first sheet had been struck off.

The fifth piece consists of eight lines, which are very similar to the passage at line 2917, and being in precisely the same metre as the longer poems which follow, suggests the idea that these eight lines may be an extract from some similar poem on morals.

The “Wisdom of Solomon” is a digest of the reflections contained in the Book of Ecclesiastes.

The next four pieces are very interesting contributions to the Works on Morals and Manners of our forefathers. The first of them, called “Ratis Raving” by the author (line 1801), extends a little beyond eighteen hundred lines, and is of a more ambitious character than the treatises published in Mr. Furnivall’s “Babees Book.” Commencing with a description of each of the five senses, it gives advice against the temptations into which the delights of sense may lead men, and follows this with an account of the four great virtues of Fortitude, Honesty, Prudence, and Temperance, and of what the poet is pleased to call their three sisters—Faith, Hope, and Charity. The writer then proceeds to speak of the seven sins with which these seven gifts of the Holy Ghost are at war; after which follow precepts common to this with the other poems on Morals and Manners, such as, on taking a wife, and how to treat her if you do take one; next follow exhortations on trade; and then advice to retainers of great men. The poem concludes with considerations on man’s life, divided into seven ages, and specifies, with a great amount of discrimination, the advantages and disadvantages of each stage in life’s progress.

The poems numbered 8 and 9 partake more of the nature of "Books of Nurture," and No. 10 resembles in many of its precepts the poem on "How the Good wif tauȝte hir Douȝter."

In the Maitland Folio MS., p. 19, in the Pepysian Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge, are two poems of a similar character, which I should have added in an appendix, but that I hope the Society may, at some future day, be able to publish all the Maitland Poems. The first begins :—

My sone, in court gif thou plesis remane,
This my counsale in to thy mynd imprent,
In thy speiking luik þat thou be nocht Vane,
Behald and heir, and to thy tung tak tent,
Be no leâr or ellis thou art fehent,
Found the on treuth gif thou wald weill betyde
To gouerne all and reule be nocht our bent.
He reulis weill þt weill in court can gyde.

This poem consists of eleven stanzas, and the Colophon is :—

Quod riehart maitland of ledyngtoun knyt.

In p. 148 of the same MS., we have a poem commencing thus :—

My sone, gif þow to the court will ga,
My bidding luik w^t the thou ta,
And everie day tak tent þairto,
Suppois þt thou haue meikle ado.
First sone I gif the in bidding,
To luif thy god attour all thing ;
That is to say on this maneir,
Luik preiching þt þow glaidlie heir,
And serve thy god all þat þow may,
In the beginning of the day.

This poem contains 128 lines, and ends—

Now fayr weill sone and þus I end.
Finis, how the father
teichit the sone.

Of No. 11 I have given some account in the notes.

The reader is referred to Mr. Skeat's Introduction to the

Lancelot (which is written by the same scribe and in the same dialect), for an account of the peculiarities of the language. It may be observed, however, that the language of these pieces is more decidedly Scottish than the Lancelot. Mr. Skeat has pointed out that *eke* in Lancelot is only an adverb, whereas it will be seen from the Glossary that the verb occurs frequently in this volume, and also the noun derived from it. Also, contrary to the usage in the Lancelot, *mirk* is the word for darkness, not *dirk*.

I have used *þ* rather than *y* to represent *th* (although the letter is written exactly like *y* in the MS.) as a nearer approach to what the writer intended to be read. Conf. line 279.

The Society is indebted to one of its members, W. W. King, Esq., for the entire copying of the MS.

The present Editor undertook to prepare the work for the press in the first instance, but was prevented by other duties from carrying it through at that time, and the editing was transferred to the hands of one of our members, since dead. Owing to the divided responsibility some misprints have occurred in the text, mainly because of the great similarity between certain letters in the MS. The following list of errata is therefore appended.

LINE	LINE
60 <i>for</i> wreukis, <i>read</i> wrenkis.	535 <i>for</i> there, <i>read</i> chere.
76 „ puttish yme, „ puttis hym.	651 „ flethit, „ flechit.
310 } „ orne, „ Ene.	756 „ Ryt, „ criyt.
329 } „ wyte, „ wyee.	992 „ masterer, „ master.
317 } „ dy, „ do.	1006 „ tendyr, „ tendyt.
1316 } „ affichit, „ assithit.	1013 „ site, „ siee,
337 „ hir, „ hie.	1135 } „ witis, „ wieis.
363 „ thar, „ thaim.	1136 } „ at one, „ at our.
389 „ cynsell, „ tynsell.	1156 „ dutis, „ rutis.
504 „	1409 „ nocht, „ mocht.

NOTE.—As this preface was in progress, I received from Mr. J. A. H. Murray (who has written for the Philological Society

a paper on “The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, its Pronunciation, Grammar, and Historical Affinities, with an Introductory Sketch of the History of the Lowland Scotch”), the following notice of the dialect in which the volume is written, which I give entire. It will be seen that Mr. Murray considers these pieces of a purer northern character than the Lancelot.

The language of these pieces is the “Louthiane Inglis,” or Lowland Scotch of the fifteenth century. The prose portions with which the work begins are of special interest on account of the archaic character of the language, and the scarcity of specimens of Scottish prose of so early a date. And although poetical specimens of earlier date exist, unfortunately most of these have come down to us only in later transcripts, or printed editions, in which the orthography, and even the grammatical inflections, etc., are conformed to the *Middle Scotch* of the sixteenth century. The present specimens belong to the later part of the *Early Period* of Scottish literature, when the language as yet varied but little from the Northern dialect in England, with which it had been identical before the War of Independence. Thus (to take the prose portion), we see that the spelling has not yet assumed those distinctive characteristics which mark the classical or standard Scotch of Bellenden, Lyndesay, or the *Complaynt of Scotland*. The long *a*, *e*, *o*, of Anglo-Saxon still mostly remain *a*, *e*, *o*, while in Middle Scotch they were written *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, or *ay*, *ey*, *oy*, as in *mar*, *de*, *her*, *thole*, later *mair*, *dey*, *heir*, *thoil*. The indefinite article is, as in Northern English of same date, *a* before a consonant, *an* or *ane* before a vowel, in contrast with the Middle Scotch usage as in *ane buik*, *ane kyng* (which appears in the Acts of the Scottish Parliament between 1475 and 1500). The use of the relative *at*—common in Cursor Mundi and Hampole, as well as in Barbour, Wyntoun, and the Early Scottish Laws, and still in common use in the spoken dialects of Scotland, but of which examples are very rare in the writers of the Middle period, who preferred *quhilk*, and *quhilkis*,—is another point to be noted. *Quhilk* and *quhilkis* are correspondingly of infrequent occurrence, although of the latter one or two instances are found in the poetical parts. Of *qua*, as a simple relative, there are of course no instances—this use of the word being apparently unknown in Scotland before 1540. The very frequent use of *erare* for *rather*, *rayder*, seems

also to be an archaism. Interesting in connection with the history of the Lowland Scotch are the combinations *dud*, *feild*, etc., = *do it*, *feel it*, which, it may be remarked, are still so pronounced. The rhyming of *beglylt* with *wyld*, l. 2309, is noticeable as showing that thus early the termination *-it*, *-yt* was really equal to *t* or *d*. The use of the adjectives *gud*, *yll*, *lesse*, *law*, *riche*, etc., as verbs meaning to *benefit*, to *malign*, *lessen*, *humble* or *lower*, *enrich*, is interesting, as examples of similar usage are still met with in the living Scotch dialects.

The "Craft of Deyng" is, as a specimen of the Scottish language, probably next in age to the early part of the Royal MS. of Wyntoun's Cronykil (placed about 1440). That it is later than that MS. appears from the fact that while the past participle in Wyntoun still retains the Anglo-Saxon *d*, ending usually in *-yd*, it has here become the more exclusively Scotch *-yt*. Probably, therefore, we may consider it as representing the language of the middle of the century. The "Wisdom of Solomon" is probably of nearly the same age, but "Ratis Raving" is apparently later, the orthography being much more assimilated to that of the Middle period, and the language generally less archaic. In several passages, however, the latter is very obscure, apparently from scribal errors, of which the poem, as a whole, contains rather numerous examples. There is no reason, however, to suspect the scribe of *wilfully* altering his original; indeed, the reverse appears manifest, from the fact that the "Craft of Deyng" has not been assimilated in orthography to "Ratis Raving," but distinctly retains its more archaic character; while in "Sir Lanceclot," edited by Mr. Skeat for the Early English Text Society, from the handwriting of the same scribe, we have a language in its continual Anglicisms quite distinct from that of the pieces contained in this volume, of which the Scotch is as pure and unmixed as that of the contemporary Acts of Parliament. With regard to the remarkable transformation which the dialect has undergone in Sir Lanceclot, there seems reason, therefore, to suppose that it was not due to the copyist of the present MS., but to a previous writer, if not to the author himself, who perhaps affected *southernism*, as was done a century later by Lyndesay and Knox, and other adherents of the English party in the Reformation movement. The Southern forms are certainly often shown by the rhyme to be original, and such a form as *tone* for *tane*=*taken*, is more likely to have been that of a Northerner trying to write Southern, than of a Southern scribe, who knew that no such word existed in his dialect. The same may be said of the *th* in the second person singular. A

Scotch writer, who observed that Chaucer said *he liveth*, where he himself said *he lyves*, might be excused for supposing that he would also have said *thou liveth* for the Northern *thow lyves*; but we can hardly fancy a Southern copyist making the blunder. The probability, therefore, is that the scribe to whom we owe these pieces has given them us much as they came to his hand, and that, writing himself towards the close of the fifteenth century, he has transmitted to us copies of works whose date runs over the preceding fifty years.

Moral and Religious Pieces.

FROM THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY MS.,

KK. 1. 5.

(1.) CRAFT OF DEYNG.

En the passage of this vrechit warlde, the quhilk is callit dede,
semys harde, perelus, ande rycht horreble to mony men,
alanerly For the wnkawlage at thai have thare-of, tharfore this
lytill trety, the quhilk is callyt the craft of deyng, is to be notyde
& scharply confederyt to thaim that are put in the fech[t]inge of
dede; For to þaim, ande to al vther folk, It may awaill rycht
mekle till have a gude ende, the quhilk makis a werk perfyte, as
the ewill end wndois al gud werk before wrocht. The fyfth 8
chepture of this trety begynnys of the commendatione of dede,
Fore ded, as haly wryt sais is mar pretiouxe and worthy, is maist
terreble, of al thing that may be Thocht. Ande in-samekle as the
faull Is mare pretios & worthy than The body, in-samekle is the 12
ded of It mare perulus and doutable to be tholyt. Ande the ded
of synfull man, but sufficiant Repentans, is euer ill, as the dede of
gude men, how foding or terreble at euer It be, is gude & pretios
before gode: For the dede of gude men is nocht ell bot the pasing
of personis Retwrnynge fra banafyng, offputyng of a full hevy
byrdinge, end of all sefnes, eschevyng of perellys, the terme of
all Ill, the brekinge of al bandys, the payment of naturell det,
the agane-cumyng to the kynde lande, ande the entering to per-
petuall Joy and welfare; And tharfor the day of ded o neide
men is better than the day of thar byrthe; And sa thai that ar all
weill schrewyne, and deis in the faithe and sacramentis of haly

[Fol. 1.]
On account
of men's un-
knowledge
of death, this

4
*Craft of
Dying* is to
be noted.

Chapter I
treats of the
praise of
death.

16
The death of
the good
is the off-
putting of a
heavy bur-
den, the en-

20
tering on
perpetual
joy.

24 kyrk, how wylently at euer thai dee, thai suld *nocht* dreid thare ded ; Fore he that valde weill de, fuld glaidly dee, and conferme his wyll to the wyll of gode ; for sen vs behwys all de o neid, and we wat noþer the tyme nor the sted, we fuld resaue It glaidly, that

28 god and nature has ordanyt, & gruche *nocht* thar-wyth, sen It may *noeht* be eschewyt, For god, at ordanyt ded, ordanyt It fore the best, ande he is marc besy fore our gud than we our self can ore may be, sen we ar his creaturys and handewerkis ; and tharfor al

32 men that wald weill de, fuld leir to de, the *quhilk* is *nocht* ellys bot to have hart and *thocht* euer to god, and ay be reddy to resaue the ded, but ony *murmwr*, as he that baide the cumyne of his frend ; & this is the craft that al kynd of man fuld be besye to

*[Fol. 1b.]

36 study in, that is to say, to have *his* *lyf, how velthye or pure that It be, takyne In paciens that gode sendis. Thai that are in the artykle of ded has *vþer* temptations be the deuill, and mar merualus, than euer þai had in thare lyfe ; Fyrst, the deuil

40 tempis a man in his deing in the faith of haly kyrk, For but faythe may na man be saufe. And It is the grund of al gud deid, þer-for þe deuill assais, gif he can gare ony man vare in the treuth, as to put to hym, that he wald neuer dee For synaris,

44 na be borne of the *vergyne* mary, & safurth, of the new testament. And þerfore ilk temporall man fuld trow as haly wryt fais, and namly that his curat tech-is hym, ande have his hart fermly Set þerone. Ande he that is in the artykle houre of dede

48 fuld have a man to raherþ to hym the poyntis of þe trouthe, in fyk langage þat he mycht wnderstande, Ryght oft, fore It gret comfort to hym, and the deuil may *nocht* heire It : alsua þai fuld raherþ to hym the gret faith and paciens of martyrs ande

The great
faith of martyrs

52 vthire haly men, how wychtly þai sustenyt al tormentis and passyonys done to thaim, for the faith of haly kyrke, and our- come thar ennemys by paciens and ferme faith, as men may Reid in thar storeis. For he that is ferme in the faith optenis thar-

56 throw al that is profytable to the faull and lyf baith, and It is to wyt quhat temtacioune at euer the deuill putis to man, fal *nocht* noy hym, bot gyf he wyl fully consent thar-to and at he be in his rycht mynd. For in the houre of ded the deuill wyll east

tyrs should
be read to
them.

mony wreukis of falfait the quhilk Suld noct be trowyt, for he is 60
 our auld enemye and faſer of leifingis. The threuth is fundyt
 apone this, that god withſaif to tak mankynd to Radem the
trespas that adam and Eue commytyt in paradisee, quhar-throw al
 mankynde was finitit, & nan was worthy of his offryng to pay 64
 that ransone for the oreginall fyne at thai ware fylt with, for
 god herys na synaris; and tharfor god, throw his mekyll merſy,
 send his anerly fone to be inearnat, fen nan was worthy þer-to,
 bot he; for he was na synar, and hervpone is fowndit al the 68
 faithe, the quhilk was confermit be fanete Johne the baptyst,
 and mony oþer prophetis, or cryſt was borne mony a hundred
 þhir. The toþer temptacioune that the deuill tempis a man with,
 Is diſpar of godis mekille merſye; for quhen the deuill fyndis a
 man wexit and torment with feknes, he bryngis to his mynd
 þe ded that *he Is lyk to cum to, and the synis that he has done,
 wneconfeyt of or Rapentyt, and na penans, na condigne ſatiffac-
 cione maid for þaim, and puttish yme In diſpare of merey, and 76
 thus he ekys forow upone forow to eonfound hym. And as
 haly scripture fais, ilke man fal se, in the hour of ded, cryſt as
 he was erueefyd one the cors, *in confolacioune* to gud men, and
 in confusioune and fehame to Ill men, at thai ar noct worthy to 80
 have¹ thaim to thare bruþer rademar & helpare: and this is a
 perelus temptacioune. Neuer-the-leß, þocht a man had done als
 mony synnis as thare is dropis in the fey, or al the synnis in the
 werlde hym alone, and he had neuer ben fehrewyne befor, till 84
 the houre of ded, fa at thare-of he mycht haf suffifand *contriſ-*
eione, he war ſauſ; fore godis mercy is abwne al his werkis, and
 he may noct deny mercy treuly askyt: bot It is the sykireſt to
 manis faluaeioune to be fehrewyne, and do worthy penans, tyll 88
 he Is in proſperyte; and þocht a man mycht noct have spaee to
 ask merey, tharfor fuld he noct diſpare, fore that ware mar
 ekyne of forow to hym. And this is ane generall prouerb, that
 fyne noyis noct that is suffieandly for-thocht, and the poey of
 the eroß ſchawis the mercy of Crist, for he hange þer-one,
 Inclynand the hed to the heryng, the mouth to þe kyſing, the

The truth is
founded
upon our re-
demption by
Christ.

Men are
tempted, by
2ndly,
72
despair of
God's mercy.

*[Fol. 2.]

But the
greatest sinner,

if he be con-
trite, will be
saved.

Proverb, that
“Sin hurts
92
not if suffi-
ciently re-
pentant of.”

¹ [him.]

- armys to the embrasing, the handis to the gevyn, and al his body
 96 to the Rademyng of *Synaris*, and sua fuld na man be dysparyst of
 godys mercy: For in ensampill thare-of he gaif to the maist synare
 maist mercy and grace, as to Petyr at denyd hym, to Paul at
 100 persewyt hym, to matho the okyrrar, to magdalyne the synare, till
 dauid the murthersar and adultrare, to þe theif that hang besyd
 hym one the cros, and to mony vþir that war lange to raherþ.
 The third
 temptationis
 Impatienee,
 or not loving
 104 God above all
 things.
- The [þrid] temptacioune is in-paciens or vnholmudnes, the quhilk
 is nocht to luf god abwne al thinge, & to thank hym of al his
 sayndes and gyttes, at ar al fore the best, and thai war weill
 knawing, thai that trawalys in the artykle of ded, bot gyf þai be
 cumyne to the natural cours of eilde, the quilk few cumys to;
 For ma deis of exces and mysgouernans in youthed, than is flane
 108 into batell; thir men, for the strenthe at thai have of complexioune,
 or¹ laith to de, and sa thai thole in thar sefnes meruolus dolur
 and infirmyte, the quhilk thai tak nocht in paciens, for the luf
 of god, as he dyd for þaim quhen he sufferyt ded: for he opnyt
 112 na mare his mouth na the lam dois quhen his throt is wnder the
 knyf; and sua mony of thir men gangis rammyþ, vþir sum
 *[Fol. 2b.] mermwrys, and *thinkis that Payne vrangwys, and gruchis, and
 fwa thai obey nocht with gud hart to the ordynans and rychtwyþ
 116 Iugment of god; and tharfor It is nedfull to al men, in the tyme
 of that dysfþ, to think and to know that his synis aw to have
 mar pwnyscioune than he may tholl; for al the Payne that euer
 we tholl, Is rychtwyfnies: and þe gud at we gete is of grace, and
 120 thar-for a verray penytent man thinkis al his sefnes lytill, in
 comparefone one-to the luf at god schawyt till ws, and to the
 Redemptioune of our trespass. Ande Sen the sefnes, at we have
 her, is gevyn ws in part of our purgatory, it fuld be blyckly
 124 refaüst, and als al the tribulation and forow at we may tholl
 here, Is nocht worthy to be maid comparefone to the Ioy of
 hevyne, that in the paciens thar-of we may wyne. For swetnes
 is þe better knawing, at swetnes has ben befor taistyt. And sua
 128 the sef fuld say in the Payne at he tholys; now byrne, now
 schere, now thrift, now fla, that before god [he] may alleg the

All men deserve more punishment for their sins than they suffer.

All our sorrows not to be compared to the joy of heaven.

¹ [ar.]

patyens þer-of fore the luf of hym and have eternall Ioy þer fore. For god sendys to þaim that he louis warldly Payne,¹ þan sum passis, for hevynly Ioy at euer leftis. And thus a man fuld with al his hart conforme hym to haf paciens, thankand god, without murmur, of that Payne, and fa to wyne hym self. For euer the temptatione at man tholys in the hour of ded Is pryd; for quhen the deuill feis that he may noct dyseff a man in þe faith of the kirk, na [be] desperacione of godis merey, na be incapiens of his sefnes,² than tempis he hym, sayand thus, “þu art noct as vthir men are, þow art furently in thi face, & in the hop of the mercy of god þow art wyeht and tholmud in to sefnes, and þow has done mony gud deid, and þerfore þow nedys na mercy, bot al the thank þar-of.” This presumptioune is Rycht perelus, and a fell temptacioune, and for-thy a man fuld think, that all his euill dedis cumys of hym self, and all his gud dedys cumys of grace, and the gyft of god; & sykirly, ay þe bettyr man, ay þe mar lawly; and quhen the ymagynacioune of a manis gud dedis cumis by the temptacioune of the deuill, he fuld brynge to his mynd his Ill dedis, at thai ma law hym, and bryng hym to knew his fragelyte, and to ask merey, and noct to pryd hym In his gud dedis. For to have pryd of his gud dedis is a temptacioune eallyt presumeioune; and dreid of the merey *of god [Is]³ for Ill dedis Is ane vthir temptacioune eallyt dyspar; and he that can weill eschef thir twa, in the hour of ded, ourcumys the deuill. For euer the fyft temptacioune that the deuill tempys a man, Is in hes warldly gudis: he thinkis dyses to leif his gret Riches mowable or wnmowable, his wylf and barnis, and siker oþer plesans; and syker It is quha takes hym forow or dyses, in the levynge of thir cardenall delytes, that he is noct sykyre in the faith. For and he de, as he fuld de, he fuld think that he fuld pas to mare Ioy na fore to leif sic transytorie warldis gudis, the quhilk are lent hym bot For a tyme plesand to god to tholl, or as ane Instrument to vyne hymself to hevyne, as ane hamyr is ane instrument to

God sends
worldly pain
132
to those that
he loves.

The devil
tempts men
136
with pride,
if the other
temptations
fail.

140

144

A man's evil
deeds come
from him-
self, his good
deeds are the
gift of God.

148

Presumption
and despair
152
*[Fol. 3.]
to be es-
chewed.

Men like not
to leave their
156
worldly
goods, which
are only lent
for a time;

160

¹ [þat fune.]³ This word is in the MS.² In the margin are the words “þe find.”

164 mak a knyf wyth. Bot the deuill tempis men sua in thar varldly gudis, that wylfully þai ga to the deuill fore thaim, and quhen thai wat at thai mone dee, thai wyll noct glaidly part with þaim, na thol the ordynans of god þerof, at thar powar, na

168 nor will they pay their debts, but leave all to their wives and children. Nor will þhit þer dettis to be payt, bot erar desyre at thar barnis and thar wyvys be possesfyt of þaim, quheþer þai be eumyne falsly or Rychtwyfly, thinkand thar ryches noct able to be dysponyt fore þar faulys, or to mak Satisfaccioune with thaim gyf þai Ware

172 they make satisfaction for riches wrongly won. vrangwyfly vonyng, trowand at god has na cur of thi[r] barnis, to grant thaim riches, bot gif at thai dyspone al vpone thaim: and sie folkes fuld erar be callyt bestes vnracionable, than man rasonable; for bestis knawis na thing bot erde and warldly

176 thingis, by the refone of the erde at thai ar maid off. Men fuld knew he hewyne, by Resone of the faull that come, and was maid thar-by go amang the angell. And thus he, that vald weill oureum this temptacione, fuld thank god of his grace, at lent

180 Men should gladly give back their goods to God. hyme thir warldly gudis to help hym with, anerly to his end; thankand hyme thar-of, and gyfand thaim to hyme gladly agane, till his fre disposicione: for noþer wyf, nore barnis, na oþer riches, ar lang gevyne. And thus, noct aganestandand, testament

184 or oþer disposicione, at the law lewys, may be maid; bot man aw to part with thir gudis glaidly, by the ordynance of god, as is befor said. And thus he that fuld de, fuld gladly de, thinkand

Death patiently endures makes satisfaction for venial sins. fore the better to lefe the were; and than the ded, pacyently

188 * Fol. 3b.] and also many deadly sins. tholyt, makis satisfaccioune, noct al-anerly of the vaneall synys, bot als, quhen It is desyryt, fore þe luf of god, and to be with hym, for mony dedly synis. Bot the *deuil tempis oft tymis

mony men sa in thar temporall gudis, at quhen thai ar in the hour of ded, thai will noct here spek at thai syld de; the quhilke is our crewell to cristen men to be tholyt. And It is to vnderstand, at in thir temptaciouns the deuill may frenȝe na man, na

192 rycht mynde. And tharfor we fuld thank god, at tholys ws noct

Men are not tempted beyond what they can again-stand. to be tempyt Forþer than we ma agane-stand; And we resist his temptacions, we fal have þerfor gret reward in hevyne; and fwa temptacions Is rycht prophetable tyll ws, for pur borne men

cumys noct to honore slepand, bot erar by gret trawell and 200
 dyses; and al man is born of the hewyne, banis̄ þeroſ in
 pouertee, fore his synis, redemyt thar-to agane by the faith and
 the paſſione of crif, he vynand the meryt þeroſ by gud dedis
 and trew lawbor, or ell to remayne in that banafing fore euer
 in hell. Efter the dear be informyt of thir temptaciouns, at
 will be put to hym, he fuld be demandyt, Fyrſt, gyf he be
 blycht at he deis in the faith of crif and of haly kirk, and
 syne gyf he grantis at he has noct leuit ryc̄ht wyſly, as he aucht
 to do, and gyf he forthinkis his myſtedis, and gif he has wyll
 to mend thaim at his poware. Syne fuld he ask at hym, gyf
 he trowis that crif, godis ſonne our lord, deit for hym, and al
 synaris; and gif he thankes hym thar of with al his hart, And
 gyf he trowis ony oþer ways than be the faith of hym and
 ded to be fauf. Than byd hym be stark and ſykir in that faith,
 and have hop of nan vñhir thinge for temptacioun of the deuill :
 and gif thi synis be laid befor the by the angell gud or Ill, say 216
 than, "the paſſioune of crif I put betuex me and my synis, &
 betuex me and the eternall ded, the ded of crif." And alſua,
 he fuld be examynit in the article of the treuth, that is to ſay,
 gyf he trowis in the faſer, and in the ſone, and the haly gaift,
 and ane anerly god, makar of hevyne and erde ; and in our
 lord Ihesu crif, anerly ſone to god by natur, at our lady mary,
 euervyrgyne, conſauit by þe werkis of the haly gaift, but ſeid of
 man: the quhilk tholit ded one the corþ, for ws synaris, and
 was grawyne and diſcendyt to hell, to radem our elderis at had
 hope of his cumyne. The quhilk raiþ one the thrid day, fra
 ded to lyf, one his awne mycht, and affendyt to hevyne, & fytis
 one his faderis ryc̄ht hand, and fra thyne, in the famyne wyls as 228
 he paffyt, is to cum agan one domys day to Iug all *mankyd.
 Als he fuld trow in the haly gaift, & in the bydingis of haly
 kirk, and the sacramentis þeroſ, as baptēm, confirmacione, the
 haly sacrament of the altar, in the quhilk, wndyr the forme of
 bred and wyne, is contenyt the haly body of our lord Ihesu crif :
 the sacrament of penans and ſchrift, the ordour of preiþod, &
 matromoȝe, and of the laſt anoynting. He Suld trow Alſua, in

204

Then the dy-
ing man is
to be asked,
1ſt, If he is
glad to die
in the faith
of Christ;

208

2ndly, If he
believes that
212
Christ died
for him ;

216

3rdly, If he
believes in
the Father,
220
Son, and
Holy Ghost ;

in Christ's
birth, pas-
224
ſion, resur-
rection;

228

*[Fol. 4.]

in the sacra-
ments ;

232

- 236 the resurrectione of al men, that is to say, *in* the sam body and
 in a general resurrec- faull, as now is, fal met to-gyddyr and tholl perpetuall Ioy or
 tion; Payne. He fuld nocht anerly trow in thir xii arteclis, bot als
 in haly wryt, and haf his hart rady to do thar-to, as his
- 240 curat chargis hym; and he fal forsak al heresyß ande wiche-
 craftis, forbyding be haly kyrk. Als þe sek man fuld ask mercy
 with al his hart, of the synis done agane þe lufe, gudnes, and
 mycht of god, and erar for the luf of god, than for dreid of
- 244 ony Payne. He fuld pray mekil til god, to gif hym grace
 Then he must pray till haf knawleg of the synis that he hafþ forȝit, to that end that
 for grace, he may the better mak amendis þerof; alsua, he fuld sykirly
 and promise think that in easþ he mend of that seknes, that he fal neuer
 248 wylfully syne in thai synis, na in na vthir dedly: For in the
 not to sin again. thocht, at the faull passys fra the body, is tan For euer, and thar
 after ched or rewardyt ay lestandly, as the angell was in the
 begynnyng. He fuld als forgyf al kynd of man, of all actione
- He must for-
 give all men.
- 252 hartfully, and ask forgivnes of god and man; For as he
 forgewys, he fall be forgewyne. Als he fuld mak satiffacione of
 all he has tane wrangwyfly, or at he aw; efter his poware fuld
 he fell all his gudys, movable & wnmouable, and he may haf
- 256 laisfare thar-to. And quhat euer he be that treuly kepys this
 Every dying man should informacioune but fenȝeing, he beis faint. At our thire thingis,
 imitate Christ's death. ilk man *in* the houre of ded fuld do, efter his poware, as eryȝt
 dyd one the eros: fyrst he prayd, and swa fuld we; syne criyd
- 260 efter help, and sua fuld we, with the hart, gyf we mycht nocht
 with the mouȝt: and syne he ȝauld his faul to his faſer, and
 sua fuld we, gladly gyfand hym, sayand thris, gyf he mycht,
 & gyf he mycht nocht, sum vthir for him, “In manus tuas,
- 264 domine, commendo spiritum meum, domine, deus veritatis;” and
 he fuld refaue thankfully the pane of ded, in satiffacione of all
 his myȝledis, as god grant ws al to do, for his mekill mercy.
 Amen.

Explicit, etc.

(2.) BALLAD.

- 268 **G**o way, Fore that may nocht awailȝhe,
Fra fenȝheand foly ay þow flee. [Fol. 4b.]
Se surfaſtneſſe the nocht affailȝhe
Vith ſlep; with fuernes kep þow the. 4
- 272 Faind nocht with fors at þow may falȝhe :
Lef of all lait̄is of lichorye : Cease from
Be nocht oft bound to byd batalȝhe :
In byſſenes ay blyth þow bee. 8 Be blithe in
business.
- 276 Lak na lofe to largely : Honour your
Faintly luk nocht þow fauld : betters.
Obey to better men the by :
Wyrk nocht all wayis as thou wald : 12
- 280 Be curtas ay in company :
To confell cum þow nocht wneald : Be courteous.
Loue god our al thing fykyrly : Where you
Quhar þow hechtyſ, fe þow hald. promise hold
fast. 16
- 284 Vykytly luk nocht þow wyne : Help your
Be to thi frendis as afferys : friends.
Off thi gud dedis mak na dyne :
Be stout with wrang quhen men the steris : 20
- 288 Thi enemys auld trow neuer In : Trust not old
Tak kep to prowerbis quhare þu heris : foes.
And fe þow ſeſ of furfat fyne,
And pref the al ways with thi perys. 24 Associate
with your equals.

(3.) BALLAD.

- 292 Fle fra the pres, and duell with futhfaſtneſſe : Be true.
Suffice one-to thi gud, þocht It be small :
Fore hurde haith hait, and elmyngy tykilnes,
Pres haith enwy, and weill is blynd our all. 4 Wealth
brings ha-
tred and
blinds men;

seek no more
pleasure
than behoves
thee, but con-
trol thyself.

Trouble not

to follow
fortune;

kick not
against the
pricks;
[Fol. 5.]
check lust,
and let thy
spirit lead
thee.

Expect a fall
in this world,
which is not
thy home;

thank God
for all, and
truth shall
deliver thee.

Virtue in-
creases dig-
nity;

follow truth,
and love
God.

Be not
proud.

Time passes
quickly as
grass
withers;
trust in God.

- 296 Sauore no more thane the behufe schall :
Dant thi self that dantis vtheris deid,
And treuth the fall deliuer, that is no dreid.

- Payne the nocth al erukyt to Redres 8
300 In trust of hire that turnyth as a ball,
Fore gret rest stant in lytill besynes.
Also be war to spwrne agane an all.
Stryf nocth as doith the crok with the wall. 12
304 Wayue thi lust, and lat thi goft the leid,
And treuth the fal deliuer, that is no dreid.

That the Is sent, Resaue in bouxumnes ;
The werflyng of this warld askis a fall. 16
308 Here is no home, here nys bot wyldyrnes ;
Furth, pylgrim ! furth, best, out of thi stall !
Lyft wp thyne orne, and thank thi god of all !
Reull thi self that vthir folk can Reid, 20
312 And trewthe the fall deliuyr, that is no dreid.

(4.) BALLAD.

- Sen trew Vertew encreffis dignytee,
And wertew floure and rut is of noblay,
Of ony weill, of quahat esstat þow bee,
316 Ris steppis few, and dreid the non affray : 4
Exill all wyte, and folow trewthe al way :
Luf most thi god, that fyrst thi lust began,
And for ilk ynch he wyll the quyte a spane.

320 [Be not ouer proud in thy prosperity : 8
For as it cummis, sa will it passe away.
The time to compt is short, thou may well see ;
For of greene grasse soone cummis wallowed hay.
324 Labour in trueth, quhilk suith is of thy fay ; 12
Traist maist in God, for he best guide thee can,
And for ilk inch he will thec quite a span.]

- Sen word is thrall, and thoc^t is only free,
 328 Pow dant thi twnge, that powar has so may.
 Thow set thine orne fra worldly vanitee,
 Restren thi lust, and harkyne quhat I say.
 Stramp, or pow flyd, and ercp furcht one the way ;
 332 Kep thi behest one-to thi lord, and thane
 Fore ilk ynch he will the quyt a spane.

Words are slaves, but thought is free, therefore control thy tongue. Tread before thou slide, and keep thy behest to thy lord.

20

(5.) SONG.

- Sen in waist natur na thinge mais,
 And gud fore labor all men hais,
 336 Than he and law, as eaus requeris,
 Suld dy syk lawbore, as thaim afferys.
 Sum wyrk, sum pray, sum kep Iustice,
 Sum defend the pepyll fra ennemys.
 340 Thar was neuer nan, fore na honour,
 That may excuse hym fra lawbor.

Labour is good for high and low, as is suitable to them.

4

No man may excuse himself.

8

(6.) WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

Kynge Salomone fais, in his buk of his contemplacione and detestacione of this warld, that al this warld is bot vanite of vanitez, speciaaly of all lawbore that man makis, to conquest riches and landis in this warld, wyth al besy cure, nocht wytand quha fal lois thai landis and gudis efter hym, quhilk is gret vanite. Item he fais, a generacionne passis, and oþer cumys; the riches rottis, the erde Remanis euermare vremovable; the sonne rysis in the est, and gays to in the west, and ay cumys againne tyll his awine place, quhar he rais, and sua ferelis the erd about all artis anis euery day, putand spreit in all that lyf beris, throwe vertew gewyne to It of the makar of¹ hewyne. Item, al fludis enteris in the fey, and the seye ȝeldis neuer thai

K. Solomon says all the world is but vanity of vanities.

[Fol. 5b.]

348

The earth is irremovable, other things move.

352

¹ Makar of *in margin*.

- The summer draws fresh water from the sea, and
waters the earth.
- 356 fludis agane in fludys, but neuer theles, the somer, throw his gret wertew, drawis vp fra ye feye the fref watter agane, that, be the wertew of the hevyn, ourstrenklys the erde, and caus grouthe to be in erde, and caus reueris to ryne apone the erde, that wyth help of spryngis of well in cragis and montanis to serve the pupill & vther levand bestis of the erde. And schortly to
- 360 say, thar is na wyt of man, that can ymagyne na dewyß to gyf a resone for al thingis that god has maid in this erde quharfor thai ware maid. Item he fais, that manis sicht, nore his ene, may noct be full affichit of the thingis that ar in this warld, na his eris of heringe. Item he fais, quhat is It that is, bot It at before was the famyne thing, and quhat is It that was of before, bot It that is now in erde, that is to say, of the famyne kynd, and natur, bot noch in singlar propre persone.
- 364 All things are the same now and before.
- 368 Men do not remember what happens before their days.
- 372
- 376 He determined to inquire into all things under the sun; all was vanity.
- 380
- Foward men are
- [Fol. 6.] without number.
- 384
- 388

levyt thar, and considerett and specialy of prudens, doctrine, and techinge of wysdome, & to fle erour and full. And fand that in fyk thinge is gret lawbore, & afflexonne of spreit, and at in mekle wysdome is mekle Indignatione, and quha fa ekis sciens till hym, ekis hyme mekle Payne and forow. Item, than said I to my self, in my mynd, now wyll I pas and flow in all welthfulenes & delyt, and oyſ al gudly thingis thatin this warld I may find, & in that I fand bot al wayne and vanite, and reput blythnes & lauchinge, gret erour, and than said, Ioy quhy diffauis þow me? Item, I said in my mynd and thocht, that I fuld absten me fra vice, & at I fuld set al my hart to wysdome, and vmbethow all erouris and foleys, quhill I saw quhat war maist spedfule to manis sone in erde. Item, quhen I had al thingis confederit, I fand at this was ane of the maist spedfull thingis Fore mans sone in this erd, wnder the hewyne, that every man hav in mynd the dait of his dais, and of the schort tyme that he has hire to byd, and spend It weill in gud oyſ. Item, I magnifyit my werkis makand castell, and vall, townis, orchardis, with all froyt treis of divers kyndis, erbys and plantis, I maid stankis to fisch, and watteris to ryne in wodis and medewis, and mak grouth to ryse. Item, I had in howis women and men seruandis, with hyrdis of catell, and multitud of corne at-our al thaim tat was befor me in Ierusalem. Item, I maid hurdis of gold and tresore, of al the michtis of princes, that was befor me in Ierusalem, with al delytis and plesans of women sangstaris, and oþer delytis that manis sone mycht have in erd, with Jowell of al fynewt metall, of al fassons, plesand with pretious stani, and weschell tharof to be servit withe, baith of wyne and dante metis, fa that I exeedit in riches al that var befor me in Ierusalem. And þhit, for al that wysdome remanande euer with me, and notwithstandinge I gaif my hart euer wtgange of al plesans, that manis sone mycht haf in this erde, & to my appetyt, na denyit neuer nothir myne eyne, myn ere, na my appetyt thinge that thai desyrit, of al lustis, for that I affirmyt to be my part of al my labore, to tak plesans of my gudis that I had graithyt in this erde. And syne quhen I wmbethocht me, and turnyt my mynd

392
Who seeks
science,
seeks much
pain for him-
self.

396
He deter-
mines to live

396
in pleasure ;
then, to abstain
from vice, and to
set his heart
to wisdom.

400

404

He builds
towns and

408
plants gar-
dens;

has many
servants,
much cattle,
treasure,

412

[Fol. 6b.]
416
many jewels,

and denies
himself no-
thing.

424

He sees that all his works are but vanity, and
in my self, thinkand of al my wardenly werkis, that my handis had wrocht, and to al my werkis that I had suet for, and al my michtis and wardenly riches, and saw that al was but vane and 428 seeks the difference betwixt wisdom and folly.
wanite, and affixone of spreit, and manis mynd and al was bot transitorie & corruptable, and na thinge profitabile, na ferme and stabill, remayne wnder the hewyne. And than set I my wyt to

432 contemplacioun of wylome, and to sek the deffers betwex
wylome and foly, and betuex erour and werite, thinkand quhat
wylome It war to manis sone, and quhat worship, to inquer

Wisdom surpasses folly, & follow till his king and creatore, and get knowlege of hym ;

436 and than confiderit I and fand that wilfulum precellis foly, as far as
as light does the lyehtnes of the fone passis the myrknes of the mirk nycht:
darkness; lyknand the wysman to the leiche, and the ful to the mirknes,
and the en of the tan euer in the hewyne be contemplacione,

440 and the en of the toþer in the erdly wrochit & corruptable wanite, lyknand the tan to the hevyne, & the toþer to the hell.

yet the wise Item, than I beheld that baith the wisman & the full deis, and
and the foolish die ^{alike} yeldis the faul in lykwyß: than thocht I, gif our ded be elyk,

444 quhat profitis It me to set my hart and besynes to al wisdome,
mar na hymē quhilk set his mynd cur and besynes till al foly?
Item, than turnyt I my wyt to contemplacione of baith the tan
& the tabur, and considerit at the gret god yeldit necht heith elyk.

448 reuarde in the warld eternall, suppos to manis ficht thar be na
No doubt,
[Fol. 7.] differens of the passinge of the spreit out of the body ; for, but any
but one goes
to joy, the
other to
pain : dreid the tan gais to Joye, and the tojer to pane, bot as manis
dreid, and his dedis her within schort proces of tyme & al is

452 forset at was, and put out of manis mynd: quhilk is grete wane
and vanite. Item, quhan I saw that baith worthi clerkis and

still, as all
things pass
away, he is
weary of life,
wifsmen, fulys and wanwitty men, al passit of this warlde; and al
thinge, that vnder the fone was, rotit and vanift away, & na
things remanit but the erde alone; then lyklyt I of my lufe in this

and hates all his works as he knows not who may govern his heritage after him. — 456
thinge remanit bot the erde alane; than Irkyt I of my lyf in this
wurld, scand alsua the wikitnes of wykitmen, and al vthir maner
of wykit werkis, and wykyt folk, quhilk was all bot vanite and
afflixione of spreit in this lyf. Item, than tuk I in detestacione,
and abominatione, all the tyke and the dyke, and the dyke that I

460 and abhominatioun, and hatterut, al the werkis and porely that I
had gart mak wnder the fone with grete deligens and studeous

labore, that I owtir coul^t or myc^t study with al my mynd to
gar be done, thinkand It was na wyt visdome, na prudens, till a
wysman, till set his diligens, & besy cure, and al his hart, to 464
waist the tyme that god has gevyn hym in this warld, till
occupy hym in syk falzeand and rotable vanite, thinkand that I
fuld have ane aire after me to gowern myne heritageis, rewmys,
and possessions, after me, nocht knawand quhe-þer he be wyf^s 468
ore full, quhilk is gret vanite. And sa hapnit It aftyr hym, that
his aire Roboame misgouernyt al that his fajir wane, and tynt al
his possessions: thane said he till hym self, that hym thocht It
was na vislome, till a wysman, till leif to a full vaifour, al thar 472
gudly revmys & possessions, that he had with fa gret pane &
trawelle conquest, and gaderit with his lawbore, and besy cure, &
al his lyf hepan euer gud and fyne, to be vaifit & distroyd.
Thane tuk he in detestacione to lawbor mar in this erde, & renunys^t
al syk lawbore and besynes, sayand quhat profetis It a man to
lawbore thus all his tyme, and neuer to tak reste day of his lyf,
na neuer a Joyous day therof, and a wantone vaistor ydill man
fal dispone, and waist al thair gudis, that he had syk pane and
lawbore, nocht takand rest in body na spreit, nycht na day? Is this
nocht grete vanite and afflixoune? Item, thane said he that hym
thocht It was the best thing that man in erde myc^t do to mak
hyme gud chere of his vynnge & lawbore that he makis here: 484
for that is the gyft of gode, that quhill he Is here he tak his part
of his awne wynyng, and thar-of to mak hym gude chere and hald
hyme weill at es, quhill he is here, fore he fal nocht ell have fore
his part of the warlde. Item he sais, quha is in erde quhilk gave
his hart syk plesans as I have done: and sua flowit in my delytis,
and al my tyme of my ȝouthage? Item he sais, god gewys to the
wysman wyt & visdome, to governe hym weill in this warld,
with habondans of gudis, to leif weill with, and to wykyt man
he gevis grete pane, lawbore, and gret cure of waist, besynes with
gret trawell, and wnrest, and afflixione of spreit, with lytill es,
and mekle unrest, & na hap to good hym with his gwde that
he has with fa forowful wyninge, and sone levys It to thaim that 496
werst louit hym in this lyfe dais, quhilk is a grete vanite and

He renoun-
476
ces all labor,
as a wanton
man, may
waste his
goods after
him;

480

484
[Fol. 7b.]

and thinks
to take his
ease.

488

God gives
the wise
man abund-
492
dance, to
the wicked
pain and
travail.

There is a affixone. Item he sais, that al thing has a tyme in this warld, and
 time for every thing in this world.
 500 ded, time of setinge, and of sawinge, tyme of scheringe, and of gaderinge,
 tyme of vptakinge, tyme of ded, tyme of lyfe, tyme of seknes,
 tyme of heill, tyme of bygine, tyme of brekinge, tyme of lauchinge,
 tyme of gretinge, tyme of lepinge and skipinge, tyme of stalyngue,
 504 tyme of gaderinge, tyme of inbraisinge, and tyme to ly out of
 inbraisinge in armys, tyme of cynsell, tyme of vynynge, tyme of
 keping, tyme of vyninge, tyme of deilynge, tyme of schapinge,
 tyme of fewinge, tyme of spekinge, tyme of seilens, tyme of luf,
 508 tyme of hatred, tyme of batailȝe, tyme of pece, and of al fik
 warldly thingis þar is tyme of all thinge, quhilk men fuld tak
 kep to. Item he sais, he confideryt al the lawbore and besy cure
 All that God has made is
 512 good in its time.
 516 Nothing is better than to make good cheer.
 [Fol. 8.] God will be the sove- reign judge.
 524 The life and death of man and beast are but one.

Item he sais, that al thing has a space, In maner of pasage; as tyme of byrth, tyme of
 ded, time of setinge, and of sawinge, tyme of scheringe, and of gaderinge,
 tyme of vptakinge, tyme of ded, tyme of lyfe, tyme of seknes,
 tyme of heill, tyme of bygine, tyme of brekinge, tyme of lauchinge,
 tyme of gretinge, tyme of lepinge and skipinge, tyme of stalyngue,
 tyme of gaderinge, tyme of inbraisinge, and tyme to ly out of
 inbraisinge in armys, tyme of cynsell, tyme of vynynge, tyme of
 keping, tyme of vyninge, tyme of deilynge, tyme of schapinge,
 tyme of fewinge, tyme of spekinge, tyme of seilens, tyme of luf,
 tyme of hatred, tyme of batailȝe, tyme of pece, and of al fik
 warldly thingis þar is tyme of all thinge, quhilk men fuld tak
 kep to. Item he sais, he confideryt al the lawbore and besy cure
 that gode has gevynne mans sone in erd; and how all thingis, that
 gode maid in this erd, ar gud tane in thar tymis. Item he sais, that
 of al the thingis that is in this erd ordanit fore manis sone, and
 the gret cure, and besynes, that thai tak to wyne the gud of this
 erd, and he fand, at þer was na thing in erd sa gud fore manis sone,
 as to hald hym weill at es of the gudis that god sendis hym
 in this warld, and mak gud chere quhill he is here, and leif weill;
 for that is the gift of god to manis sone, quhill he is here to tak
 Joy and plesans of the gudis þat he has with his trew labore
 520 wynynge. Item he sais, thatte all thingis, that god has maid,
 ar gud and perpetuall, in thare kinde and nature, suppos
 thai be ay Remowand in singularite. Item he sais, that he beheld
 the wykytnes and iniuris that was done be the Jugis and Justiceris,
 sayand in his hart that the gret god fuld be the souerane Juge
 abwne þaim, & Justfyfe þaim in the toþer warld, baith wysman
 and wykyt, and than fal the end of al erdry be Jugit. Item he
 sais, that the gret god schawis to man, be gud resone, that the lyf
 of man and a best in this warld is bot all ane, and thar maner
 of deinge is baith bot ane, and baith bot of a lyk condicione, and
 has na mar the man, thane the best, in the wþrlid, and all elyk
 wnder lyis vanite, and drawis till a law place downwardt, quhen
 532 thai de, to the erd. Item he sais, quha may wyt quhethir the spreit
 off man gais vpwart, ore the spreit of the best gais douwart, fen

baith wnknawyng elyk paff? and than he faid, that in this wvard,
he fand na thinge better to man, na to mak gud there of the
gudis he wynis with his handis, and to do ay weille quhill he is
heire. Fore na mar fal he ber away with hym. Item he fais,
quha ledis man to sik knawlege that he knawis the thing that
salbe in tyme to cum? And than turnyt he hym to the wykit
chalenginge of pure Innocentis that, be mychty wykyt men, ar
chalangit in this erd, gretand and gowland For the mony gret
injuris done to þaim, ande na man to comfort thaim na to refist to
thare malice: thane faid he that he louit mare the ded man na
the levande, and þhit mar na vthire tham that was wnborne to
serue the wrechit wykit lyf in this erd, but ony comfort and syue
of the gret inwy that was amange nyctbouris, the rich and the
pwre, the glorious & mek, quhilkis was noct sa subtell to wyne
the warldis gudis as þe glorious proud man, quhilk was gret
vanite. Item he fais, þat the full suere man plettis his handis one
his breſt, and ettis his pure met, fayand that better is ane handfull
with rest and peſ, na baith the handis full with trauell and
dyſeſ. Item he fais, that sum men ſefis neuer to labour, nycht nor
day, to wyne the warldis gud, in gret quantite, and has noþer
barne, broþir, na fistir, to leif that to, na wat noct quha fal Joye
thar gudis efter his dais wonyng with trichory and barete, and
has neuer a gud day thar-of in his lyf, and oft tymis fall in thare
handis that maist hym hattyd in this erde, quhilk is gret vanite,
and not ell bot affixone of ſpret, bot ony vthir profyt ore meryt.
Item he fais, wa is hym that is hym alan, but a falow with
hyme, fore gif he fall or ocht misteris is nan to help hym, and
better is in al placeis eumpagny, na to be alone, ande mar ſuet is to
ſlep twa to gydir, na ane alone, for langour ande warmnes and
gud eumpany, and wer is to brek a dowble raipe na a ſingle. Item
he fais, It is better a pur wyſ barne na an auld fulle kinge,
quhilk fore wane-wyt may peryſ a realme, quhilk is gret vanite.
Item, he fais a man fuld tak gud tent quhen he enteris in godis
temple, and her weill the wordis that ar thar ſpokyne, and be
obedient to comandment, for do he noct, he wyll be mekle lakit,
quhilk is gret vanite. Item he fais, that better is the obediens of

What man
knows, what
shall be in
time to
come?

540
He observes
the oppres-
sion and
tears of the
innocent;

The dead are

544
happier than
the living,
still more
those not
born than
either.

548

552
Men without
children or
relations
toil;

556
and their
goods tal-
unto their
enemies.

560

[Fol. 8b.]
Solitude is
not good.

564
A poor wise
child is
better than
an old fool-
ish king.
In God's
house be

568
attentive,

- obedient.**
Not hasty of speech in prayer.
- 572 þe wylfman, na the offerent of the full. Item he fais, a man fuld nocht be our hasty of spech in his prayeris, for gode in hie hevyne feis and knawis al his dedis word and wyll *in* erd, thus few wordis and effectuous is best fore hym. Item he fais, that after mekle besynes folowis mony dremis, and after mony verdis f[ollowis] mony folis and erouris, and bydis man kep weill gif he ocheit wouwis.
- 576 Item he fais, men fuld nocht len thar mowth to kif in hop to gar thar body syne, na nocht wit god before the angell of the inclinatione of thar complexione to put thar condiscione in misfortune, but euer dreid to disples god. Item he fais, that a couatous gredy vrech may ne never be fulfillyt of gudis in his hart, na he that louis richas ouer mckill sal never have gret Joy of þaim. Item he fais, quhar mekle riches is, thare mone be mony seruandis to dispende thai gudis and gowerne þaim and the posseffor takis bot his lewyng thar-of, and quhat profet has he of the remanent bot at he feis þaim with his ene, and ar callit his, quhilk is gret vanite and affixone of spreit, quhilk is ane of the werst in theerde. Item he fais, that after gret trawall the slep is swet, sa that men et nocht our mekle, bot the oure gret fyll of the myghty man lattis hym to slep, and changis his complexione in were, and oft fore thoeht of his riches he walkis in wntymis: quhilk is grete vanite and affixone of spreit, ane of the werst that is in the erd. Item, thar is an vthir gret vanite that quhen a seruand that a lorde traistis in, is richit throw falsfat of his master wel wone gud: quhilk is ane of the werst that is in the warlde, fore comonly thai gudis profetis nocht, bot with gret syne ar voninge Ill-won riches profit nothing.
- 584 588 592 596 [Fol. 9.] 600 604
- The covetous is never satisfied.
A rich man has many to spend his wealth.
Sleep after toil is sweet.
- with gret dysfß and affixione of spreit, and his barnis deis begaris. Item he fais, god gewis the gud man luk grete, and plente of gudis, and grace to spend thaim in es and honore, and to the wyket man he gevis mekle waste, and wane lawbore and *grete* dysfß and affixonne of spreit, and never gud day of It: quhilk is gret vanite. Item he fais, he is mekle behaldin to his god, that has gewyne hym the warldis gud at will, and syne grace to Therich man is much beholden to God.
- dispend It to plefans and velth in this world, bute ony myffortone, in al delitis: quhilk, and he be wnkynd, is worth gret pwnissione

afterward. Item he sais, he has gevynne til oþire al haboundans of warldis gudis that thar hart defyryt, and þhit gaif thaim neuer powar to spend a peny of that gude *in* his awne oyþ, bot ay levand thar gudis til ane oþir, quhilk louit hym neuer in his lyf: quhilk is gret vanite and afflixione of spreit. Item, ane oþer vanite is, that god has gevyn to sum man plente of warldis gud, and has here gendrit he and his barnis ane hundred barnis of lell matromonȝhe, and has lang lyf here in this warld, and þhit he, na his, fal neuer hafe a profytale na efful day in al thar lyf. Item, than said he, “I hald better the ded barne, that neuer was borne quhylk in this warld, na saw neuer the licht *in* this warld, na he that had al that gud, and neuer a day *in* es þer of, in his lyf: quhilk is gret vanite and afflixione off spreit in this warld.” Item he sais, that al the vismanis wyt is in his mouth, and thinkis that he has neuer ynouch of It and euer is techand and lerand, and quhat þan has the wysman mar na the full, ore quhat mar has the riche na the pure in this warld, sen al gais agait to the erde? Item he sais, It is better to desir the thing þow feis noct that is the Joy of hevyne, na the thing þow feis in this warld, for the tan is bot temporale and corruptable, and the toþir is perpetuall. Item he sais, quhat man is to cum in this warld, his name is now writin ande writin weill that he is aman; for na thing is bot at var, na thar was na thing bot at Is. Item he sais, it is noct to a man to strif agane mar master than hymself in Jugment. Item he sais, it is noct spedfull till a man of symphil knawlege, til inquere our far in subtyll materis of godis priuate, but to inquer and knew with sobirnes at may suffice, fore ell is gret vanite. Item he sais, quhat profytis It to man till inquere of thing that passis his wyt till wnderstand, and belangis hym noct to knew? But it is spedful to gouerne hym wifly in this present pilgrimage, quhilk passis as a schadow daily, or quha can tel hym quha fal sueed til hymne afterward, or quhat fal hapin in tyme to cum? Item he sais, it is better a gud name namekil riches in this warld or ony oþir precious Iowell, sen he mone pas of this varlde and wat noct the hour na day, and at the day of his birth is the begynnyng of his ded. Item he sais,

Some have
not power to
608
spend their
goods; others in a
long life
have never
a day of ease,
and so are
612
worse than
those who
have never
been born.

616

620

624

God foresees
all things;
628

[Fol. 9b.]

and the sim-
ple must not
632
enquire too
far.

A good name
better than
riches.

636

640

that sen man is sykir he mone de anis, It is gret wyt to purway
weill tharfore in tyme, and quhill he has tyme in this varld ful

644 Sorrow bet-
ter than joy; of vanite. Item he fais, It is better to cum to the houſ off
ernyſt na to the houſ of blyctnes, and to the houſ of ſadnes
na to the houſ of Joy, and better is crabing na blyctnes or
laiching; for the tane forgettis to think one the end, and the toþer

648 for the wise
are ſad, and
fools are
joyous.
Better is it to
be correced
by a wiſeman
652 than flattered
by a fool.

thinkis one the vanite of this warld; for vysmen are ay ſad, and
fulys ay blycht, and oft tymis be the ſad *contina[n]s* of a wylfman
fulis are correkit and amendyt of thar wyte. Item he fais, better
is to be correkit with a wylfman, na to be flethit with a full, and

the ſtrublyne of fulys crabis the viſman, and gar þaim tyne his
frendſhip and fauoris of his harte; and better is the fliting of a
frend, nar þe fleching of a full. Item he fais, better is the end of
the vresone na þe begynyng, and mar is lowable to god with a

656 mek man na a predfull, and pacient man na a Irfull, and a ſturtand,
quhilk makis reddy dyſcord. Item he fais, a man fuld nocht

Men ſhould
not be too
hasty of
ſpeech, and
ſpeach.

660 ſo have to
repent.

Wisdom and
riches best
together.

664 [Fol. 10.]

affixione of gud spreitis, to fe the ryc̄t gud wylfman peryſ with
his ryc̄t and vysnes, and terains in heill and velth lef lang.

Pity to be
mixed with
justice.

Item he fais, a man fuld nocht be our Just, bot he fuld have pete,
and mell Justice and mercy to gider in Jugment. Item he fais,

668 and ſum fore the viſlome, he cheſ til hym ſelfe, and vthir ſum
he diſpiſ and rafuſ for thar wan-wyt and foileis. Item he
fais, men fuld in gud dais vþ gud thingis, and kep þaim and
beware fore the Ill day. Item he fais, that gret vanite is, and

672 676 fulys deis or half thar dais be gane. Item he fais, that it is gud
to defend the ryehtwyſ and the pur, fore god maid baith, and

knavis al dedis and thocbt. Item he fais, wyfdom is mar strenthy na gret powere temporall of princis, and fais that few ar sa ryghtwyf, that thai do na vrang, na syne, to god na to man. Item he fais, a man fuld noct len his eris tyll all at he heris, na trow noct lichtly all relacions. Item he fais, a man fulde here weill, ore he ansuerys, and mak hym, quhilum, to noct here at he heris, and namly trow noct al vpone thar seruandis, that men will say for pras; It may be for Inwy of thaim mar na fore profyt of the lord. Item he fais, he assait al thingis in this warld, that manis mynd mycht have in knawlege with wyfdom, and said till hym self, "now fal I be wyf, and knew al thingis that man may have knawlege of in this warld, and ay þe mar that I presyt to wyfdom, the farere It fled fra me; fore thare is na wyt in this erd, that may knew the hicht, and the depnes of It; quhilk passis al menis wyt in this warld, bot anerly of the grete god. Item, I considerit the gret differens, betuex wiſdom and foly, eroure and rychtwisnes, and amang al thir I fand the woman mar bitter na the ded, quhilk is the gyrne of the hunter to tak the wild bestis; ande her hert, the netis of syne; and handis, the fetteris of lust to hald men in hir bandis; quharfor quha will ples god, fle fra thaim." Item, na wysmen fuld behald the bewte of women, that thai be noct tan with thar suet blenkis. Item he fais, he socht amang men quha fuld be wyf, and fand amang a thousand bot an wyf, bot amang women he fand never an, in al his lyf. Item he fais, that god ordanit the man to be wyf and rychtwyf, bot he mellis hym, of his awne wyll, within sa mony diuerf materis, but end, at nan may knew bot god, quhethire ill or gud. Item he fais, 704 salamone fais mony vyf wordis in his bukis, bot quhay may knew be his wordis quheþer he was vyf or noct, for vyfdom schawis noct in wordis bot in dedis. Item he fais, þe wiſdom of a wysman schawis by his contenans, part, and hawynrys of body, and wysage, and the maist mychty schawis thare face quhilum. Item he fais, he that is wyf kepis the bidinge of god, and his Juge- 708 mentis. Item he fais, thar fuld na man hyd fra god þe face of god lang dueland in his Ill dedis. Item he fais, a wifman may 712 do quhat euer he wyll, and his wordis ar full of prudens, and

680
Few do no wrong.Do not
answer at
once, and
684trust not ser-
vants' tales.
He tried all
wisdom, but
it fled from
him;

688

692

He found
women more
bitter than
death;
696and one man
in a thou-
700 sand wise,
but of women
never one.Wisdom
shewn in
[Fol 10b.]
deeds not in
708 words;and in keep-
ing God's
bidding.

quha sa dois biding felis na Ill eftire. Item he fais, that na man may rapref the werk of god, na spere quhy dois god thus in

716 this. Item he fais, al thing has tyme, na it is *nocht* in manis poware to know the tyme of þe paſſag of his faul, out of þe body na to hald in his spreit, quhen god will at It pas, na he fall haf na powere of It in the day of his ded, na than tholis

720 nocht the passions of ded hymē to tak rest, na fal *nocht* than the *mychtis* of the wykit man sauf his lyf, na *profyt* hymē. Item he

No man
knows the
time of his
death.

Great lords
have power
more for
their own ill

724 than good.

God strikes
suddenly the
wicked.

728 his hie gracious paciens tholis *fynaris* to ly in thar fyne, and takis na vengans one þaim lang tyme, þit quhen he *strikis*, he *strikis* his straik fudauly, quhen he seis thai wyll *nocht* amend.

Item he fais, that the dreid of god is the begynyng of wysdome, 732 and quha dredis hymē *nocht*, may never be wyß. Item he fais,

The wicked
sin more the
longer they
live.

736 It is *nocht* spedfull till a wykyt man, that wyll be *condampnit*,

that he leif lang lyfe, for the langar he leif, the mar synis and

mar Payne deseruis and the schortar the leß. Item he fais, It is

No man
knows his
fate.

A living dog
740 is better than
a dead lion.

Keep thy
vestments
clean, and
anoint thine
head.

Do some
good.

[Fol. 11.]

gret vanite that al thinge that cumis in this warld, to pure and

to riche, to wysman & to full, al is kept wneertane, to the end

that na man wat quheþer he be worthy to Joy, or to Payne, in

the warld to cum. Item he fais, that a levand dog is better na

a ded lyone. Item he fais, that loue, hatterent, Inwy and syk

thingis endis al in this warlde. Item he fais, et and drink and

mak gud cheir, and hald thi persone weill at pointe, and thi

vestementis elen, and thi conciens qwhit, and lat *nocht* the a

noyntment failȝe of thi hed, and thi membris, and leid thi lyf with

thaim that the louis for the day of the vnſtedfast lyf. Item he

fais, that al men fuld be besy, to do sum gud in thar lyf, for thar

fal never gud deid wnrueardyt be, in this lyf, na Ill deid wn-

pwnist. Item he fais, as fiscl ar tan with hukis, and foul with

lyme wandis, so is *fynaris* tane be-for thare tyme. Item he fais,

that oft tyme has ben hard, that a gret eete has ben segit with a gret prince, and þhit a pwre man has rasit the seg thar-of, but harme, quhilk was done with prudens and *wysdome*; quhar-fore he lovis that mare na a gret mycht of *princis*. Item he fais, that now is louit mar the mychty man, na the wysman with al his wyt. Item he fais, the word of richmen is better hard in scylen, na the pwr manis word in gret audiens Ryt in the row. Item he fais, better is fewe worthi men in batall, na mony eomonis, fore multitud na victour mais. Item he fais, It is gud to be lell, and *Be loyal.* 752
 kep condicione, fore seldom eumys fals man till honour. Item he fais, it is spedful till a man to do weill till hym self, quhill he 760 is her, for quhen he gais, he tynis the Joy of this wold, as the beis, deand, tynis the suetnes of the hwny. Item he fais, the visdlome of the wysman is in his ryght hand, and the foly of the ful in his kere hand, and the pert fulys wenis that na man fuld be maid of, 764
 bot fulys, *with grete men*. Item he fais, I saw ful set one *segis* of honore, and wysmen set one lawar *segis*, and wnworthy men ryd- and one horþ, as lordis, and worthy men gangand one fut, as pagis or seruandis, quhilkis for *wisdome* war worthi to be *princis peris*. Item he fais, mony man makis a flak, in an vthir manis vay, and fall fyrst thar in. Item he fais, a bakbytar may be lyknit till a neddyr, that stangis men or thai may get knawleg of hym in hyddyll. Item he fais, that visdlome is euer in the 772 mouth of vismen, ay ful of grace and gudnes, and the foly of the ful garis hymen snapyr, quhen he venis to stand, and euer his deid and his word ar in foly and glakitnes, and with vthir fulys, and takis nocht tent, quhat folowis after. Item he fais, that mekil multiplicacione of wordis may nocht be but fyne, and thar 776
 is oft tymis neid & mister. Item he fais, al the fulys lawbor is bot tynt, trawell, vanite, and afflexione of spreit, but profyt; na thai can nocht hald thar continans, na gang in the way eumandy. Item he fais, va is It to þe land, of the quhilk the king is a barne, the quhilkis the *princis ettis* tymly, and the realme is blelit that has a worthy kinge, and of the quhilk the *princis ettis* in dew tyme, and erear for the restoring and refexone of his natur, 780
 na for liehory. Item he fais, men fuld loue the penny, for to the 784
Woe to the land whose king is a child.
Money an-

752
 Prudence
better than
the might of
princes.

756
 760

764

Fools sit on
the seat of
honour;
wise men on
lower seats.

768

772

776

Multiplica-
tion of words
cannot be
without sin.

780

*Woe to the
land whose
king is a
child.*

784

Money an-

[Fol. 11b.] swerth all things. penny al thinge obeis. Item he fais, thar fuld na man ban his kyng, na murmwre hym in thar collacione, na consent to detrac-

788 Ban not the king. kyng, na murmwre hym in thar collacione of hym, for the fowlis of the hevyne beris the woice to the hiest kinge, quhilk fal gif the sentens thar vpone. Item he fais, deill thi met to the trawelouris and pilgrymys, for þow fal finde the froyt thar-of mony zere efterwart, and fal flok mekle syne.

792 Feed pil- grims. Who dreads winds and clouds will never sow his corn. Item he fais, quhen the cloud flaikis, the rane our-strenklys the erde, and garis the corne grow in habonndans abwne the erde. Item he fais, quha dreidis al vindis, and confiderys the clowdis, fall neuer weill saw his corne. Item he fais, It is hard to a man

796 Who ean give a season for all things in earth? to know how the banis of barnis ar chapin in thar moþeris wambe, na quhen the faul paß out of the body, quhare It gais. Item he fais, quha can gif a resone for al thingis that god has maid in this erd, lytill and mekle. Item he fais, it is a suet

800 Young men should learn wisdom; 804 and all men avoid anger. Item he fais, that all men fuld fleme Ire fra thaim, fore It lattis the wyt to determine trewly betuex gud and Ill, and loue weill paciens do ay gud quhill thai ar here, and think at the gret Jug fal do Justice off of al dedis that manis sone dois here. Item he fais, that all men fuld fleme Ire fra thaim, fore It lattis the wyt

808 Young men should avoid pleasure, and think of the day of punishment. and clennes of lyf here. Item, he bidis zongemen kep thaim Fra wnprofitable delytis, in thar zouthag, fore al that is bot vanite and lycþt, transitoure blychtnes, wnwalable, and thinke at a day of punysing fal cum quhen al sal be pwyst. Item he fais, at the

812 The sun and moon will be changed. mofe, and thane fal the starkest þat was before schawaris fal mofe, and thane fal the starkest þat was before schawaris fal

816 Men shall hide in caverns, be gryndaris of grauell, thate wont ware to schaw gud metis falbe in cauernys and in ernes lukand out at het and stinkand durris, and the rewis and syne fal al ryþ to gyddir at the vocis of the angell, and fal al the dochteris of wykitnes al worth deife,

820 and dread [Fol. 12.] and al that trowis in thare enchantmentis; and than fal al, that flesche bare, dreid the Jugment, quhen al men fal enter in this

hous eternall. Item he fais, thane fal thar be mekle greting and gowlynge, and than the powdir that man was of twrn agan in the fyrst forme, and the spreit of man fal turn agan in the powdyr, and gange till hym quhar it has feruit after the Jugement; quhilk is gret vanite and affixone of spreitis, to think one that day, that fal be sa dreidfull, that the angell of the hewyne fal bitterly gret. Item he fais, quhen was callyt wyfes of the wold, maid in his contemplacons mony prabolys full of wertew, that he had soucht be his wyt & vyfdome, that god had gevyn hym, and maid of thaim fondry bukis, to tech ojeris that fuld cum after his day. Item he fais, the wordis of wisdom quyknys gud menis wytis, and opnis thaim to confau vysdome, and the vnderstandinge of the cauf quhy thai ar said; for the parabolys ar noct tan be the fyrst face, bot that fuld be be the documentis of wyf clerkis that knawis the subtilly yimaginacione of the fayar, gevyn to tham fra the fafer of hevyne. Item he fais, It fal noct neid to manis wyt to sek ma bukis for wisdom, ojeris than thai that he has maid, for þe wysdome of thaim was gevyn hym fra the hevyne, fra al mychty gode. Item he fais, quhen men sekis þe wysdome in mony bukis, It stoppis his wyt, and fal never fynde ane ende, for the farer he sek, the leß he fal fynde at the ende. Item he fais, our mekle thocht, study and besynes, to our-seke bukis, irkis manis wyt. Item he fais, al wysmen fuld tak tent to the ende of this buk, that is to loue and serf god our al thing, and kep his bydinge, and kep fra Ill, and do gud quhill he is here; for at the gret Jugement, all Ill fal be pwüst, and gud Reuardit, and thar fal al thys wold temporall take end.

judgment.
There will be
much weep-
ing, and man
will be
turned to
dust.

828
The wisest
men made
many pro-
verbs.

To teach
others that
832
come after
him;

but they are
not to be un-
836
derstood at
once.

His books are
sufficient for
wisdom.

840

Much
thought over
844
books tires
men.
Serve God,
keep from
evil; for all
will be
judged at the
848
last day.

(7.) RATIS RAVING.

My son, study
this book, which
is left for thy im-
provement.

The good never
die; but there is
an end of the
wicked.

[Fol. 12b.]

Study this trea-
tise whilst thou
art young, and
canst be trained
as a tree.

Know that there
is a Maker of all
things;

- M**y dere fone, wnderstande this buk,
þow study, & reid It oft, and luk,
852 Her sal þow fynd thi faſeris entent,
To the lefte in amendement. 4
Think þow art growin of hym memor,
As he of his faſir before,
856 And thinke at thai are neuer dede,
Quhill gud memore Is in thare stede : 8
Bot gyf thai laif viciously,
Think than thare tyme is al gan by.
860 And gyf swyk cauf fal in the,
Trow weill at þow fal punyſt be, 12
In this lyf here, with mekle ſcham,
For þow fordyd al thar gud nam.
864 Fore-thi, my gud fone, wnderstande,
And tak this tretyſ oft in hand, 16
And fet weil thar-one thi entent,
Quhill þow art yhonge and Innocent :
868 For fo lang art þow able alle
To grow as tre up gret & fmall. 20
Gyf at þow ſchapis to bounte,
Thi branchis braid and gret falbe :
872 And gif þow ſchapis thaim to wice,
Infortune will wndo thi priece : 24
Gyf þow vald wyt quhat thing It Is
Efter, as I can, I fall the wyſ.
876 Thar is a makar of al thinge,
That gouernys thaim ay, but falȝeinge ;
That gewys to mankynd Wyt & ſkill
Fore to depart the gud fra Ill :
880 That is vicious wyſ doinge
The euil is vicious fals levinge : 28
32

- The fyrf Reuard wyll we see,
The toþer mone ay punyfste bee ;
who rewards
good and evil.
- 884 We twa refemblis godis mycht,
And neuer mar wyll do bot riȝt;
Nan vþhir infortone can I kene
Departit here amange thir men
36
- His punishments
are our only mis-
fortune;
- 888 Bot al sie punyfclione as this
That gode wyll send men for þer mys :
Na gud fortone can I nan see
Bot his reward for gud buntie :
40
- His rewards our
only good for-
tune.
- 892 That we weil be ensample may
Se fall, and fallis ilke day :
That pwre men, cumyne of simpyl blude,
Wertuouſþ, and gevand caufþ of gude,
44
- Poor virtuous
men rise;
- 896 Worthis tyll erlys dukis and kingis,
Quhill thai misknaw thar gouernyngis
And fra thine-furcht luk thai abate,
& fallys hail fra thare eſtate :
48 but by their own
faults lose all
again.
- [Fol. 13.]
- 900 Baith landys and lordſhipis fra thaim fell
And worthis wrechis bondis threll.
Sua that fortone and infortowne
Is reward of punyfclione :
52
- 904 As men gevis caufþ in thar doinge,
Till have reward or pwnyfing.
That faid salamone sum-quhill
He saw a thing, hym lykyt Ill,
56
- Solomon saw
some righteous
and wicked men
fall alike.
- 908 Sum Rycktwysmen and god-lyk baith,
With Wykyt men & wnewyne lyk seaith.
To that, my gud fone, thus say I,
And men may find weill varandly,
60
- 912 In sanct dauidis falter buk,
Quha can It wnderstand and luk :
Thus nane may wyt quhy that fuld bee,
Bot he wyft ilke preuatee
64 But David tells
us that God only
knows why this
is.
- 916 That is and was and fal be eft,
And sic wyting till nane is left ;
68

- | | | |
|-----|---|----|
| | Bot till that god that knawis all
That was and Is and fore to fall : | |
| 920 | Thai three termes ar ay put
In tyll his ryctwyſ Jugment,
And thaffis cauſ, wil, & qualite ;
Of thai tymis fa demys he, | 72 |
| 924 | Trow weill, my fone, he dois bot rycht,
How euer men thinkyt in thar ficht,
As I fal þhit mar opinly
Schaw furtht sum cauſ in to party. | 76 |
| 928 | Sum ryctwyſ men, and god lyk baith,
Hawys gretanoys, schame, & scaith ;
Trow weil, It aw rycht sua to be
Fore cauſ mowand, fore quhat is hee | 80 |
| 932 | For-out trespass that here can leif ?
þhit than wyll god syk grace thaim geif,
That settis maist part thar lewyng
In ryctwyſnes and gudly thinge : | 84 |
| 936 | For oþer part in thar myfdeid,
Sen nan al may rycht thaim leid,
Sal her have tribulacioune,
That fal be thare Remisioune. | 88 |
| 940 | Bot quhay so lewys viciously,
In wykytnes and terandry,
God wyll thaim noct punyſt be here,
Fore deuillyk dedis ar thaim deir ; | 92 |
| 944 | And fa his ryctwyſnes wyll fe,
That thai with deuill punyſt bee.
This is the prologue, I begyne
To schaw how grace with dedly fyne. | 96 |

Believe He does
but right; as I
will show.

Some righteous men suffer, but no man is without sin;

[Fol. 13b.]
and their tribula-
tions bring for-
giveness.

God punishes
not the wicked
here, but with
the devil.

Explicit prologus Incipit liber, &c., &c.

- 948 **F**Ore-thi, my Suet fone, *procur* grace,
To be fo ferand of thi perches :
Fore, wit þow weill, fore out that thinge
May na man cum to hie þarnyng,
- 100 Procure grace,
without which
no man comes to
honour.
- 952 To honor, na to gud riches,
Na þhit to stat of worthynes,
Bot gif It be besyd resone
Fore caufß of wer conclusione :
- 104
- 956 As þow may fe of mony thinge
Gret mischef folowis al vynynge,
Ande, gif þow þarnys to se the way
To met with grace, I trow þow may.
- 108 If thou desirest
to meet with it,
- 960 Cum thar-to best on this maner
Luk nane of thi fyve wyttis fere,
That is, the noble gret treifour,
That god gaf mankynd herebefore,
- 112 come to it in this
manner.
- 964 Be miskepyt, my fone, in the.
Fore, trow yow weill, gyf It sua bee,
Sum wyce wyll occupy that place,
And led the fray the way of grace.
- 116
- 968 ȝit fal I ken the quhilk ar thai
Sa that þow haue na caufß to say,
þow knew thaim noct and let thar by
þow kepty thaim noct tendrely.
- 120 which I tell thee,
that thou mayest
know them.
- 972 **T**he fyrst of thaim, I call the sycht,
That is a wertew of gret mycht :
Fore quhy, It makis the knawleginge,
And ledis the at thi þarnyng
- 124 The first is sight
which enables
men to go from
place to place,
[Fol. 14.]
- 976 Fra place to place, quhar þow wald be ;
Thane Is it misterfull to the
Till have thai placis veil in thocht,
And se gif þow may scath the ocht :
- 128
- 980 For gif þow seis thaim lyk to Ill,
And takis thaim furcȝt syne of thi will,
That vertew turnis þow in wyce,
And infortone thar next belys :
- 132 and to escape in-
jury. But if thou
neglectest the
warning,

punishment
follows.

The *second* is
learing, which
enables men to
get learning;

and so rise to
honour.

Wherefore, abuse
not thus sense,
lest some vice de-
stroy it.

The *third* is
Smelling, which
enables men to
distinguish sweet
and foul scents.

Through good
odours, a sick
man may recover
his health, whilst
corrupt odours
may kill a healthy
man.

[Fol. 14b.]

Bad air kills
sooner than the
sword.

- 984 For that is It that ryehtvisly
Wyll punyß thi wrang done vickitly. 136
Tak her to tent, gif þow will thrif.
The toþer of thi wittis fyve
- 988 Is heringe of thine eris twa,
That gevys confait to the alfua, 140
Throw wordis and recordis feir
That þow may with thin eris here,
- 992 To ler sciens that masterer redis
That mony men til honore spedis
To knew profyt, and eschew feaith,
Tyll help the and thi frendis baith.
- 996 For-thi spend it nocht mys I red ;
Fore þow dois, into that sted 148
Sum wyee will rut and haf repar,
And for-do all that wertew fare,
- 1000 And þow may nocht asfonȝe the,
And fa for cauȝt it fuld swa be. 152
The third wertew is smelinge
Of nes, that makis the knawleginge;
- 1004 Quhilk is weil smeland suet odore,
And quhilk is stinkand aire vnpure : 156
It fuld be tendyr and keptit weill,
A tyme a man may sie odore feill ;
- 1008 Sa weill smeland and swilk thinge,
It may mak fyk recomforting 160
Tyll hed and hart and al the laif
Quhar throw a sekman heil may have :
- 1012 And he that is baith hail and ferre
May site corrupty ayris feir 164
As at his hart and at his hed,
That na man may hym fauf fra dede.
- 1016 Tras weil the philosophuris word,
Than sonar flais ill air na fuord, 168
As men supposis now, veill and mare,
In thair dais than thai did aire,

1020	That ill corrucionne of aire Will schort levyng &mekle empare The men that cumis quhar it is, And kepis thaim raklefly & myß;	Corrupt air shortens life, and weakens men,
1024	And maisteris gud and kindly skill. In thare bukis as faid ws tyll, That thir thingis that I rakyne here Wyll smyt men that are hail & fere.	172 and masters all skill.
1028	The fewir agow, the farnes of E, The fellone byll that dois men dee, The lypir and the faland Ill, Wild fyre and seaw thai rakin till	176 These ailments strike down strong men ;
1032	With vthir sum ar les to dout. Fore-thi thir have I rekint out, Sa that þow may persaif thar-by, To kep that vertew tendirly.	180 Quartan ague, soreness of eyes, boils, falling sick- ness, erysipelas, etc.
1036	T he ferd wertew is nocht vncouth, That is the taist of manis mouth : That mais defferens and departing Betuex suetnes and vthir thinge.	184 The fourth sense is Taste, which shows the differ- ence betwixt sweetness and the contrary.
1040	War It nocht eomone to ws all, A fair wertew men vald It call. And for It seruice al eomonly, It aucht nocht be the mar vnworthy.	192
1044	ȝhit than thar Is ane vthir taist Suld nocht dispendit be in waift. T hat is the office of thi tunge ¹ That seruice the baith auld & ȝong,	196 Yet is there an- other taste not to be abused.
1048	To schaw quhat is thine entent, It may do gret amendment, And It be kepit wertuowlily, Bot thai spend It in to foly,	200
1052	And bringisfeaith schame and ded. For-thi is proftytable to led	This is the office of the tongue, to express one's meaning.
		204

¹ “Nota de lingua” is written in the margin.

[Fol. 15.]
Be careful of
whom you speak,
and what you
say.

Understand these
six things, and
you will do
rightly.

Therefore, prac-
tise caution in
speaking, whilst
young.

So, as in any ease,
to have the habit.

The fifth sense ;
the sense of
Touching is of
good service ;

for by their hands
men gain wealth.

Some, however,
lose life and
lands by the
same means.

- Sa weill and warly thi spekinge,
It may the noct to gret schathinge : 1056 As our elderis has tehit ws,
To tak kep our speking till ws ; 208
Quhatt that we spek, and the place quhare,
Quham of fyne quhome til thai are,
1060 The wordis spokin in quhatt maner,
And þhit se to the plaeis fer : 212
Gif þow this sex pontis feis,
þow may find findry qualiteis
1064 To do perfyt and sek syk gudnes :
Quha takis kep to this syndernes 216
It is a wertew maist of price,
In spekin to be war and wis
1068 And þow may na ways vyne thar-to
Bot gif þow oyf the fa to do : 220
Fore nan may eum to his office
But oyf that makis this masteris wys.
1072 Fore-thi, my sone, quhill þow art ȝonge,
With wordis of lawte vs thi twnge ; 224
Sua that þow may, quhar euer þow bee,
Haf that vs, but defykiltee.
1076 Gif þow the fyft wnder standis,
That is the tuechinge of thi handis, 228
And baith has feling and graiping,
And fuld be led with gud kepinge ;
1080 For [þai] ar instrumentis wyf,
And maid to serf of gud seruiee ; 232
For men may with thar handis deid
Wyne gret riches, land and meid,
1084 Quhen thai dispend thar instrumentis
In wertew, and in wyf ententis. 236
And gif thai spend that in foly,
The contrare Falt commonly,
1088 As mony men throw werk of handis
Tynis thar lyf, thar gud & landis, 240

- And worthis waryt that is were
Than vthir tynsell is before :
- 1092 To tell the al how mycht befall
To lang arang men wald It call. 244
Quha kepis thar handis Innocent,
Fow mekle a grace god has thaim lent,
- 1096 As I fal the exemple tell,
That gothra the bulȝone fell,
At anthioth vpoue a bryg
Ane armit man in mydis his ryge 248
1100 Baith Irne and steil & flesch & banis
His awne hand straik in twa atanis. 252
Sum said the wertew of his fword,
And sum to gothray said this worde,
- 1104 That thai had ferly of that strak
That na man thar mycht strik the mak ;
And [ȝit] was mony worthiar man
Of strenth and body than vas he than. 256
1108 And gothra ansuerd sympely,
Sayand it fuld be na ferly,
Bot al wais after his entent
That hand was kepit Innocent
- 1112 Fra al wulefull ewil thinge
Mycht mak It scham or defowling. 264
Quharfor a gracious thing I say
Is to kep weill thin handis tway.
- 1116 Thire fyfe wittis I haf the tauld,
To profyt [baith] þe ȝong and the auld,
Gif þow can weill tak keip thar to,
As I haf said that þow fuld do. 268
These are the five
senses.
- 1120 **T**o the, my sone, ȝit ken I fall
The four vertuouȝ principal,
To giddar with thar sisteris three
Efter, as I can, I fall tell the : 272
Next he will tell
the four princi-
pal virtues and
their three sisters.
- 1124 The vij to grace ar frendis maist,
And giftis of the haly gaist ; 276

The first is Stalwartness of heart, or Fortitude,

which, like to the other six virtues, is a mean between two extremes.

The one extreme is boldness.

Arrogance, envy, etc., spring from pride.

The other extreme is cowardice.

	With-outin thaim I can nocht fee, How grace fuld frendlyk be to the.	
1128	T he first of thai four principall Is stalwartnes of hart at all Be mouch discomforit in distres No with tratouris in wykitnes,	280
1132	Bot It may nocht distres endure, No wykitnes war in gud mesure ; It is the men that standys ewyne Betwex twa witis : fa standis al sevyne,	284
1136	Ilkan betwex witis twa Ar wmbefet, and standand fwa : A-bowe thaim is one mekle thing, And wnder thaim is thar wanting,	288
1140	As I fal schaw the opinly The thingis that I men thar by : It at I call one mekle thing Is outrag, our gret þarnyng,	292
1144	Als weil to do that fuld nocht bee, As It at refone gevis to the. That wice is far abowe wertew : For-thi It is for till enschew,	296
1148	It is in rutis fals and fell, As I fal tech the and tell.	300
	T he first of thaim is succudry, Fellony the toþer, the thride inwy,	
1152	Prid is the stok at thai grew in, I pray the kep the fra that syne : Come neuer bot euil of thar of-spring : Tharfore It is one mckill thing,	304
1156	It paslis fare at one mcfour. Fore-thi may nan in thaim asfur.	308
	Alfsua gif þow will knew and lere The gret wanting I spek of ere,	
1160	It is archnes that can bot hwn Als weill leuis that fuld be done	312

- As It that is *nocht* for to do.
 For-thi my sone tak kep thar-to :
- 1164 To men the gud leif the contrare
 And hawis thire dutis feire
 Radnes that dar *nocht* take one hand
 Scars wrechitnes that *neuer* wan land
- 1168 Styll coueryt hatrente, that is he
 That will *nocht* luf nor louit bee.
 The ftok of thaim is auerice,
 That tynis honore and al price,
- 1172 And than nan vthir froyt may spring,
 Bot that I callyt our gret *ȝarnyng*.
 That wice fra wertew far is vndyr,
 Se to men and have na wondyre,
- 1176 The men dois al that done fuld bee,
 And thot fuld *nocht* be leuis hee,
 His part is bot at resone wyll,
 May na man say at it is ill,
- 1180 Fore-thi the men is *wertew* maist,
 And trew halely of the haly gaift.
 Quhat misteris It mar of this to say ?
 My menyng weil confaue þow may.
- 1184 **T**he next *wertew* is *rycht* wifnes
 That *ȝarnis* *neuer* mar na les,
 Bot that þow pres to do, my sone,
Ryght as þow wald to the war done.
- 1188 Gif ilke man that his is knawinge
 And *rycht* fa tak to the thin awinge.
 Gif þow beis tretar at confaill,
 Quhar *rychtwyß* part is lyk to fail,
- 1192 A-quit thi part, and ga thar fra,
 Or ellis schap to leif It fwa,
 That *rycht* suppowell have of the,
 And thi part wnraptouit bee.
- 1196 Gif yow haſſ owyn frend or kyne,
 That wilfolly wald defend or wyne
- 316
- 320
Fear and hatred
spring from
avarice.
- 324
- 328
- The mean is best.
- 332
- 336
The second vir-
tue is Honesty.
- 340
Do as thou
would be done
by.
- 344
- 348
If any of thy
friends wrongly
claim lands,

try to settle the
matter accord-
ing to right.

[Fol. 17.]

Though wicked
men prosper,

follow my coun-
sel.

States rise and
fall according to
their deeds.

Sometimes God
works differently.

The *third* virtue
is Prudence,

- Land, ore gud in Jugment,
And it be, efter thine entent,
1200 Contrar to rycht, or to the law,
Be besy concord fore to draw 352
Betuex thi frende and thi party,
So that It cum nocht wrangwifly.
1204 To na syk end gif that yow may,
Saifand thi consciens alway : 356
Gyf þow misgouernys that, allace,
þow gais out of the way of grace,
1208 And will condampnit be alfone,
And fra thin-furceth thi thrift is done. 360
Gif þow ought tynis to be lell,
þow fal wyne efter thris fo fell.
1212 Tharfor, my sone, suppos at þow
Se wrangvis men haboundand now 364
In lordship and in gret riches,
Do þow my confail neuer the les.
1216 Set nocht thi hart in thar etlyng,
Na consent nocht to wrang vynnynge.
Gif yow consideris weill, and feis
Baith mischeif and prosperiteis
1220 Of our elderis, and of ws now,
þow fal se maist part, as I trow, 372
Changand of statis, vp and doun,
For cauf mowand of gud refone,
1224 As thai defalt mak of doinge,
Sa hapins maist of thar ending :
ȝit wmquhill godis private
Wirkis the contrar, þow may fee,
1228 Bot nocht but cauf, wyt þow weill,
Quheþer cuer it forow be ore feill. 380
The thrid wertew is gud quantice ;¹
That is discret, war and wys.

¹ In the margin, gud qwentice.

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| 1232 | To fle perell and wyne profyt,
Difes to chang in to delyt ;
I[t] can bring feid in rest & pece,
And wykit werk in foly seß, | by which men
avoid danger. |
| | 384 | |
| 1236 | Til unknawin ken thar office,
And subtil craftis as at dewice
ȝhit can scho, and pres hire nocth,
That neuer ȝhit strentgh of body mocht | 388 |
| 1240 | Raſtrenȝe malis, and amend,
As that nobill frend hir kend,
Unrewlyt ryot red in rest ;
Me think this is a wertew beſt. | Bodily strength
is not so power-
ful to assuage
tumult. |
| | 392 | |
| 1244 | Quharfor, my fone, gif þow be wyß,
Oft þow deill with gud quyntys ;
With It þow may thin erand speid,
Qwhen baith will failȝhe strentgh and meid. | 396 |
| | | [Fol. 17b.] |
| 1248 | Quharfor gud quantice may
Baith ſtryf and dyſeß put away.
My fone, luf nocth til haf in ſtrif
With thi nychtbouris, na with thi wyf : | 400 |
| 1252 | Gif þai or scho has condiscione
Of nobilnes, or gret Renown,
Do þow rycht fa, than ar ȝhe meit,
Ewynlik as athir part of det, | 404
Quarrel not with
thy neighbours,
nor with thy
wife; |
| 1256 | Fall weill in concord and bounte :
And vthir ways gyf þat It bee,
That scho or thai be contrariouſþ
To refone, or to gud wertuoſþ, | 408 |
| | | if they be unre-
asonable, try pru-
dence, |
| 1260 | Affai thaim fyrt with gud quantice,
Gif þow wyll think to ek thi price,
Or to refrenȝe that foly
That baith may be refrenit by. | 412 |
| 1264 | Agan to me gyf þow wald fay
That þow one neid mone ilk[e] day
Tyne of thi gudis or of thi price,
Or ellis retwrn thaim wice fra wice : | 416
that both be
restrained. |
| | | If this plan fail, |

consult thy friends,	1268 Quhen al gud quantice falsys the, Than with thi frendis confalyt bee,	420
that they support thee.	1272 Haf caus to wphauld the, but faill, That þow has done with thar confaill.	424
The <i>fourth</i> virtue is Temperance, which has two good qualities;	T he ferd is temperans, I trow, A wertew gretly till allow;	
one as regards eating and drinking,	1276 And havis gud qualiteis twa, As I fal tel the quhilk ar thai.	428
	A qualyte of temperans Is ay weill reulyt with obseruans	
[Fol. 18.] excess in which destroys health, etc.	1280 Of met and drink, in gud mesour, That manis kynd dois best Indwre In gud heill and prosperytee, As þow may confaif and see.	432
	1284 Gyf þow wyll thar-of have knawleg, þow fal se few of gret outrage Oucht lange in gud heil lewande be, Or barnis haf of gret bounte;	436
Be moderate, else not much good will befall thee.	1288 For heil and generacione Is turnyt in corruptione, And fordois nobilnes of kind. For-thi, my sone, haf þow in mynd,	440
	1292 And one mesoure maist þow think, And namly in thi met and drinke.	444
	For-thi with ilke day mone þow Haf intermeting, as I trow,	
The other soothes anger,	1296 Be þow a glutone or drunkfom, Na mekil gud of the may cum.	448
	A lsua the toþer qualite Of temperans I trow this bee	
which overturns men's judgment,	1300 Sobyr mesing of Irous wyll In wrethfull tyme to do bot skill: For worshipfull and Irous entent Our-twrnys skilful Jugement,	452

- 1304 And mouis men than for to do
 That schame and seath opruuis [?] to 456
 Repref, and mekill vthir thinge,
 Off es and honore the vndoinge.
 and undoes
 honor.
- 1308 For-thi have alway the remembrans
 Of that gud wertew, temperans, 460
 Quhen þow art stad ocht narowly
 With Irous wyll and gluttony.
- 1312 Thir four wertews principall
 Ar to the said now al hall, 464 These, then, are
 That beris the *ȝettis* of thi refone
 Tyll opin and stek with discreccione ;
 and the four principal
 virtues.
- 1316 Throw thaim na wyte may have entre ;
 Be thar portar of gud bownte 468
 Oblift with all to thine entent :
 For he is heill and Innocent
- 1320 That is [in] purpos lestand ay
 To wyrk wyfly and weill alway, 472 He is sound who
 And till fle foul cumpayne
 That þow may ocht be scaithit by,
 purposes to act
 rightly.
- 1324 Alswa till fle al lyklynes
 Of yll, that berys lytill les
 Charg of repruf to manis ficht
 Than dois the deid is done wnrycht :
 [Fol. 18b.]
- 1328 Quhill he Is hangit that neuer stall,
 For he was fundyne the theif with all. 480
 Sa demys men be lyklynes,
 Quhen nayen bot god wat suthfastnes.
- 1332 **T**he formeſt of thai ſisteris three,
The quhilk I ſpak of ere to thee,
 Is ſtedfast treuth in weill and way,
 And has gud qualiteis tway.
- 1336 The firſt of thaim is traift trowand
 In god, atour al thing levand,
 To louf and lufe and dout al thre,
 Sene he maid mankynd for to bee,
 for men judge
 by appearances.
- 484 The firſt of the
 ſister-virtues is
 Faith, which has
 two good quali-
 ties ;
- 488 one, trust in God
 above all ;

	1340 That is the maist gud, wyt þow weill, To be a man, and se and feill Havand the toþer prospertyteis Faland to mankynd, as thow feis;	492
For God gave man life,	1344 Fore atte fyrſt tyme god maid man, He gaif hym lyf and spretis than, That euer-mar monen leſtand bee, That is a noble prospertyee :	496
and made him in his own image ;	1348 And formyt hym his awn fygur. Quhar is thar ony fyk honore ? And gaif hym wyt, refone & ſkill, To knew and wyt baith gud & ill ;	500
and has promised to raise all men at the last day,	1352 ȝhit has he hecht to do weill mar— Tyll raif al men, rycht as thai war, On domyſday, lewand ilk ane, And al perfyt, and [with] fawt nane,	504
to be judged as they have lived.	1356 That tyme to tak thar Jugment ; Ilk man Jugit be his entent, Efter as his deid was gud or Ill, Hyme ſelf to domen fal be his will.	508
[Fol. 19.]	1360 Thar men fal fe, throw godis mycht, That al thing fal be demyt Rycht. This treuth will have no queſtione, For god has grantit na Refone	512
Simple truth is of more might than any cun- ning.	1364 To men till knew the qualite Of his micht, na of his maiestee. I-will nocht þow, my fone, for-thi Trow this in god al fympilly ?	516
	1368 For fympill trewth is mar of mycht, Than is al sciens of al flycht, As anceſt lady ane the buke Can ken, gif the lykis to luk,	520
	1372 How treuth the godin hart vpbar, Quhen the vij sciens had falȝet are, Quhill fcho com to the hieſt hevyne, And wan price our the sciens fevyne.	524

- 1376 Can nan fa weill the vays ryght
 Till the first makar, maist of mycht,
 As simpill treuth can, trow þow me,
 And thar fal grace ay fundyne bee.
 528
 Simple truth best
 leads to God.
- 1380 The quhilk fuld maist mak the keping,
 Gif þow be worth to have syk thing.
Off treuth the tothir qualytee
 I call baith gud and fair lawte.
 532
 The other quality
 is loyalty, which
- 1384 Quhar euer that vertew has rapar,
 It helpis weill and endis fair :
 It louis licht and cumpany
 Of ilke gud man & worthy ;
 536
 loves honest
 men's company ;
 evil men praise it.
- 1388 And thar is nan so fals a man,
 That he na wyll lawte luf þit than,
 And say that gud war to be leill,
 þocht he wald ellis thar clathis steill.
 540
- 1392 It is honest in ilke place,
 And neuer þit wald displeas to grace.
 The farest merour in to luk
 The falow that neuer trouth forfuk,
 544
- 1396 So sympill of state he can be sen
 That quha fa knew It wald nocth wein,
 And he had lent thar pennis thre
 That neuer thai agan quit fuld bee.
 548 [Fol. 19b.]
- 1400 Bot It is feilar at al dewice,
 Thir lwmbartis gevis it mekle price,
 Thai dar weill better traist thar tyll,
 Than tyll the emperouris wyll,
 552 The “Lombards”
 trust to it more
 than to the Em-
 peror’s bond.
- 1404 Or till his obligatiounie,
 Fore all his riches and renoune.
 Quheþer þow may, sone, a pwre man bee,
 Ore gret riches growin to the,
 556 Rich or poor, fear
 not,
- 1408 At our thi powar pref þow the nocth
 To tak to cryans þocht þow nocth :
 Fore ay quhill þow art funde leill ;
 All worthi man wyll with the deill,
 560 if thou be leal,
 honest men will
 deal with thee.

The *second* sister
is Hope, which
gladdens the de-
jected,

and is joyous in
distress.

Therefore do not
abuse it, nor
covet other men's
goods,

[Fol. 20.]

and so incur loss.

Trust in the Holy
Ghost, who first
suggests hope.

- 1412 And do the eß and *grete honore*,
And for na mischeif fe thi dishonor. 564
Quhen ilke thing *cumis* to the lycht
Than lawte faireft is in ficht.
- 1416 **A**nd hop, the *toþer* syfster next,
Can weill mak blycht, & bailful breft 568
That discomfort has maid al mate,
Scho can refrefh and bring to state.
- 1420 Scho can refresch a fary thing,
And mak with wyt recomfortinge. 572
Gud hop left neuer hire frend at þe laſt,
For perell na for mischeif maift,
- 1424 And be *rycht* blyþt in gret distrefß,
Baith danß and finge weill neuer the leß. 576
Gud hop leftis *rycht* to the ded,
With hir comfort and hir gud red.
- 1428 Sen gud hop is of fik bounte,
Dispone It *nocht* in vanite, 580
Na ȝit in wñkilfull ȝar[n]ing ;
Gif þow will eum to thi etlyng.
- 1432 Hop *nocht* to have, atour refone,
Ane vthir manis poffessiouune, 584
His wyf, his gud, na ȝit his land ;
Sik hop is wñperfyt failȝeand
- 1436 Als lang as þow, an vthir may
Haf lyf, and bruk þer ȝarnyng ay, 588
And þow may wyt nan vthir thing,
Bot errorr of that wrang venyngē.
- 1440 Gif hop be led with refone *fureht*
And wrang venyngē vas neuer *woreht*, 592
Set al thi gud hop thar in maift
In lypnyne of the haly gaift.
- 1444 Trow þow *rycht* weill that it is hee
Bring'is to purpos al gud bounte, 596
And settis gud hop firſt in *thocht*,
Haldis hir vp, and falȝeis *nocht*,

- 1448 Quhill gud purpos be brocht to end,
And levis hir grace vpone to spend :
Sa that gud hop in ilke place
Has gret fauore help & grace.
- 1452 **T**he ȝongest sister of thai thre
I wyll noct be forȝet with thee,
That is dem cheryte the meik,
Sa gud to pur folk and to feik,
- 1456 With twa en gracious at neid,
Full of peite and almouȝt deid.
þoche sche be ȝongest, wyt þu weill,
Scho is maist tendire for to feill :
- 1460 Thar is na creatur levand
Sa weill louit, I wnderstand,
With hyme that maid ws al to bee,
As is that madyne cheritee.
- 1464 For is nan so witty and so wyce,
Na riches havand of syk price,
Na gret lordship, na dignite,
Beand foroutin cherytee,
- 1468 Than It is as a thing of noct :
Fore-thi, my sone, have her in thoȝt ;
Scho has dispyt at all inwy,
And ȝarnis na thing vrangvifly,
- 1472 Scho is louand in kind lawtee,
Vncouatice, of gyftys free ;
Sa fais paull in his doctryne,
Thai are his vordis & noct myne.
- 1476 Than luf as þow wald louit be,
And gif as þow wald tak to the ;
Luk þow gyf thi gud weil than
Gif that þow be to pwr a man
- 1480 And be anoyt in thi thoȝt,
Fore þow wald gyf and þow may noct ;
A rich man gyf that þow bee,
Luk one thi almouȝt þou be free,
- 600
Hope has great favor.
- The third sister-virtue is Charity,
604
- 608 full of pity and almsdoing.
- God loveth charity above all things,
612
- and without it,
616
- all things are as naught.
- 620
She hates envy,
- [Fol. 20b]
624
as Paul says.
- 628
Give thy good will if thou art poor.
- 632
If thou are rich, give freely,

- 1484 To thaim that are in mistyr grete
 Gyf of thi met and of thi drink,
 And alsua of thi vthir thinge
 To help thir nakyt *with* cleithinge. 636
- 1488 Sice dedis empleß maist to grace
 That fuld be lard to thi purches,
 And stanch the vreth of god almycht,
 And fordo wengans in his ficht. 640
- and so quench
God's wrath,
- 1492 Scho berys *with* hire lykor schyr
 That flokins syne as vatter fyre. 644
- as waterquenches
fire,
- whatever thy sin
be.
- The *seven* gifts
of the Holy
Ghost are most
blessed.
- 1496 Scho is of powar, wyt þow weill,
 To get al forgevyne ilka deill. 648
- T**he sevyne giftis of the haly gaift
 Are thingis that ar bleffit maist,
- 1500 For thai rek vp ryght to the hevyn,
 And al that cumys of thai sevyne,
 Baith luf, lawte and chaifite,
 And al gudnes, *with* al bountee, 652
- 1504 Springis fra thaim, and fra thar place,
 As the deuisions ar of grace :
 That place is suthfaft in blythtnes
 And ful of grace and al gudnes, 656
- Their place is
full of graee and
goodness.
- 1508 That is to say the fyrst moware,
 That gouernys al thing les & mare. 660
- [Fol. 21.]
- Call not beauty
blessed,
- for it is deceitful.
- But I will leave
off, lest men call
me hypocrite.
- 1512 Sa burly bewtee of persone
 That failȝeis *with* corruptiouune ;
 Fore bewte leftis bot a quhill,
 And ȝet oft tyme It prowys Ill, 664
- 1516 Baith fals, fell, fainte and faikyne.
 Of ilkane couth I tell a takyne ;
 Bot fore thai ar to heir hatsome,
 Me lykis for to leif of as dwme. 668

- 1520 Sum men mycht have me in diffpyt,
And call me lyk ane ypoeryte. 672
Bot neuer the les for fyk contrare
Cal nocth the thing bleſſit that is faire,
- 1524 Na ȝit cal thane na bleſſitnes
The gret haboundans of Riches. 676
Vyninge of thaim is cowatice,
Tynſell of thaim is dolorus,
- 1528 Kepinge of thaim is curaiouſþ,
Ending of thaim is awantrous,
In all this is thar bot difeſþ.
Quhat bleſſitnes has than richeſþ ?
- 1532 I trow quhai, that the futh will fay,
Sal nocth fynd cauſþ to bleſþ þaim ay.
Fore quhen men lypnis in thaim maift,
Thai fall & failzeis and has na leſt.
- 1536 Cal nocth ȝit bleſſit be refone
Wardly honore, na ȝhit renoune.
And farly nocth thoeht I fay fay,
Fore men may weill fe, ilke day,
- 1540 Renown and honore faill & fall.
Suppos It faire nocth fa with all,
It hapnis oft in mycht to bee.
Quharfore, my fone, I fay to the
- 1544 Call honore bleſſit bot in waift,
Beand bot giftis of the haly gaift.
Sic honore hapnis in renoune
Fore cauſþ of Her conclusioune
- 1548 Of tyrandry and fals vynynge
That neuer had part of bleſſit thinge.
Call nocth ȝhit bleſſit gret delyt
Off fleſchlyk es, na appetyte,
- 1552 To knaw thi imperfeccioune
It blindis thi discreſſioune.
Ay quhill sum tribulacioune
Mak thare Interruptioune.
- Call not riches
blessed,
- for he who tells
truth will not
bless them
always.
- Call not worldly
renown blessed,
- for it fails,
- [Fol. 21b.]
- and when ill-won
cannot be blessed.
Nor so call plea-
sure,
- for it blinds us
to our faults,

while pain
teaches us to
know God, and
ourselves.

The seven gifts
are at war with
the seven sins,

for a knowledge
of which go to
the book of con-
fession (as I am
neither monk nor
friar).

This book tells of
the ten command-
ments,

[Fol. 22.]
which teach men
to live righte-
ously.

If thou art a
clerk,

take the book in
hand.

- 1556 Sa that dīses is mar perfyt,
And better thinge than is delyt. 708
Throw dīses may þow wyt & feill
To know god and thi-selwyne veill.
- 1560 A gret delyt is blynd alway,
And seis rycht noct̄ bot eſ̄ and play, 712
With wyll and þouthed duellis hee,
Quhill eild and deseſ̄ eumyne bee.
- 1564 Than ar thai all had in dispyp̄t
That ere ware maisteris of delyt, 716
And haldin wrechis for thare play,
Quhen syk delyt is went away.
- 1568 Thir fewyne giftis I spak of ere
With fewyne vicis thai are at were. 720
Thai ar the dedly synis fewyne,
With al thar branchis, od and ewyne.
- 1572 Gyf þow will knew thar condiscione,
Ga to the buk of confessione. 724
Thar sal þow fynd quhat that thai are
And al thar branches,¹ les and mare,
- 1576 Weill better than I can declar :
Fore I am noþer monk nore frere, 728
That can dyseryf thar fals mislourys,
Sa weil as sum wiþ confessours.
- 1580 That buk can tech the and ken
Alsua the commandmentis ten, 732
That god wratt with his awn hand,
And gaif moyses, till wnderstand
- 1584 How men fal led thaim rychtwifly,
And noct̄ disples̄ his senþory, 736
That gevis al gud honore & grace,
As he seis cauf̄ in ilka place.
- 1588 Quharfor a clerk gif that þow bee,
I pray the reid the buk & see
And besy the till wnderstand,

¹ braiches MS.

- And take thai tretyȝ weil one hand :
- 1592 Thai trawalys fal the think ful fuet :
Suppos þow think thai do the lete
Of fa lang tyme in vthir thinge,
It fal the cum to gud endinge : 744
- 1596 And gif þow be a lawit man,
Sum confesflour þow get the than,
That gud consciens havis and wyte,
And tell hym euer ilka wyte,
1600 That movis the one ony vyȝ ;
And as he fal the devyȝ,
Fulfill sic penans as he the gevys.
For þu wat neuer how lang þu levis : 752
- 1604 þow fuld be tendyr of that halue
Well mar than the fleschlyk halue :
For war þow hurt and wondyt fare,
With al thi mycht þow walde noct spare
1608 To procure the sum leich gude :
But trow weill he is were na void,
That seis hym self in dedly syne,
And can ly wondyt sa thar In ; 760
- 1612 Sa lang fall he neuer do weill,
Na neuer have hap to met with feill ;
And gyf he hapnis sua to de,
It is na dout his fawll fal dre
1616 To mekle penans and to fell,
Gyf he enchapis the pyne of hell :
Fore thar is noct bot mercy ane
To faufe the faule that swa is tane.
1620 þit fulde þow knew sum vthir entent,
Fore dout thai twrne thi Jugment,
And spill and perwert thi resone
With wrang determinacioun : 764
- 1624 Quhill one of thaim thi hart is nere,
Baith thocht and wyll is set one stere,
And al thi spretis set vnricht,
If thou art a
layman, tell all
thy thoughts to a
confessor,
- and perform the
penance, which
he enjoins.
- His soul will
suffer penance,
even if he es-
capes hell.
- [Fol. 22b.]
Some motives
pervert men's
reason.

If thou art wise
let these pass by,

And wit and resone out of sicht.

and listen to good
counsel.

These motives
are,

the *first*, great
Joy, which exalts
men's spirits too
much.

When thou art
under this, decide
nothing.

The next is great
Sorrow, which
casts down men's
spirits, so that
reason is reft
from them;

whilst cast down,
decide nothing.

The *third* is great
fear, which

[Fol. 23.]

makes men sad;

1628 Quharfore, gif þow wyll wyrk vyfly,

Lat sik ententis hail ga by ;

Quhill thoc̄t and will be stablit clere,
And with [þi] resone frendis deir,

1632 Be fet to say the thar awyß

To have honore and ek thi price,

And gif the confail of profyte :

At scham and feaſt have thai diffypy,

1636 And gevys confell to the best ;

To thar awyß þow may the treſt,

Bot sic motyf [may] mar the mare

As I fall tell the quhilk thai are.

1640 The fyrſt motyf of thaim cal I,

T Gret Joy that hapnis fudandly,

To ſteir thi ſpreit is hie one hycht,

That thai can nocht determyne rycht ;

1644 Fore wedand Joy beand in vages

Lattis al futhfaſt gud knawleges :

Quharfor, quhill ſic thinge is in thoc̄t,

Of thi purpos determyne nocht.

1648 The tothir motyve next I call,

T Quhen forow gret hapnis to fall,

And eastis dounē thi ſpretis fwa,

That resone is al reft the fra.

1652 Þow may nocht dem quhat is the best,

Quhill thai be brocht agane to reſt.

That fuld reull the with richt entent,

As ſpretis of gud Jugment :

1656 Quharfor, quhill thai ar eaſtin dounē,

Mak na determinacionne.

T The thrid motyve I cal grete dout,

T That garris al thy ſpretis lout,

1660 And bow for radnes of meſure,

Fore thai may nocht diſtres endur.

In ſyk tyme luk that þow be laith

780

784

788

792

796

800

804

808

812

- | | |
|---|---|
| For to mak ony band or aith, | |
| 1664 Ore conclud ony vthir thinge,
May twrne efter to repenteinge : | 816
and is called
Despair. |
| Wanhop I cal the thrid movar
To mak thi spretis leſ or mare, | . |
| 1668 In wauerand for-wynynge,
Or for sum vthir new þarnynge,
That nouthire wyt na refone may
Remove syk hop to put away, | 820
. . |
| 1672 Quhill hop of syk wauerand venyngē
Be brocht to rest fra fyce etlynge.
The fyrst movar I cal bot yre
That byrnis in thi thoc̄ht as fyr, | 824
The fourth is
Anger, that
burns like fire. |
| 1676 For malancoly and diffypte
As þow can Fynd nae for to wytē
Na to prolong fellony
The cauſ of thi malancoly ; | 828 |
| 1680 He is nocht wyſ na happy man,
Determ̄ys his entent as than.
The mast motyve that I of red,
That is misknowlege of þouthed, | 832 |
| 1684 The quhilk has mekle syndrynes
Tyll wnderstand, sum mar, sum les ;
As I fal schaw the sum deil lyk
Baith gudly cauſ and ryght kindlyke | 836
Next comes
youthful Ignor-
ance, which is
difficult to under-
stand. |
| 1688 Decernis of the kynd of man ;
That thai can throw condicions ken
Condicions of thi qualiteis
That growis to thaīm as proprieis, | 840
Certain causes
produce certain
qualities at con-
ception, |
| 1692 As cauſ and disfacione
Hapnis in thar concepcione :
Sum quhill of elen and subtil kind,
Sum quhill of mar and wondir strind, | 844 |
| 1696 Sum quhill as fader and moder is
In flet of grace, sum mare, sum les,
Sum quhill as confillacions | 848
as the parent's
state of grace,
the stars, etc.,
[Fol. 23b.] |

	Rignys of generaciouns;	
but thy free will can put none away.	1700 Ilkan of thir inclyn þe may, Bot nan thi fre wyll put away : Than þow may vertew lere & have, With thi fre wyll, atour the lave ;	852
First it is good to know thy pro- bable qualities,	1704 Set the tharfor, in thi þouthed, To knew thir pointis that I red. Fyrst is misterfull to thee To spek and knew thi qualyte.	856
whether likely to win honour,	1708 Tuichand the dispocisioune Hapnand of thi conseptioune, That thow inclynis to throw kinde Ryght tenderly have in thy mynd.	860
or, if thou be dull,	1712 Gyf þat þow can persaue thar by The weill disposyt and subtilly, And have of kind baith clen & pur, To set the for to wyne honore	864
give not thy heart to high officie.	1716 With craft, sciens ore manhed, Quheþer ane ore al may better sped. Gyf þow be rud, and nocht subtyll, Na can nocht weill enschew perell,	868
Such men bring punishment on themselves, as thou may see.	1720 Na mak diffynnullacione As wyll wardly condiscionne, Sat neuer thi hart, na thi etlyng, To have gret thing in gouernyngc.	872
If thou art such,	1724 To schap to leif in sympilte, Evnlyk honest and with lawte. For sen vnsubtil that are fals Eschapis vnyhyngyt be the hals,	876
	1728 Fore rud men can nocht gouerne thare vice, Thai ar punyft and tynis thar price. As þow may weill enfampill fee Of weill ma na of twa ore thre :	880
	1732 And gyf syk be thy qualytee, The warld emplesþ nocht to the, Na þow can haf thar of delyt,	884

- Bot erer haf It in diffpyte : [Fol. 24.]
- 1736 Quhen þow art ful eild cumyne to,
And þow can knaw, quhat þow can do,
And *nächt* repent efterwartz ;
Than eheþ the vyfly syk a part,
- 1740 Quheþer it be to relegioune,
Or ellis gud deuotioune,
That hapnis to thi part to fall,
And hald the content thar with all ;
- 1744 And prefþ þe to nan vthir end :
Thank god of al thing he vyll send,
And think thar ma na disfþ bee
Than thar of neid fal grow to the.
- 1748 **T**wichand thi disfocioune,
Mowand throw confellacioune,
Thir maisterys of austronomy
Can the caufþ fehaw & ean *nächt* I :
- 1752 Quharfor better to be styll
Than fay vnkawandy thar tyll,
Bot luk one no wylþ þou *consent*
For tyll determyne thin entent,
- 1756 Quhill skilfull tyme our passit be,
That thai may knaw thi propretee :
Sa that thi disfocioune
And thi determynaeioune
- 1760 Accordand be of an assent :
Than art þow weill at thin entent.
Be thai disfordinand, wyt þow weill,
Full gretly dyseþ fal þow feill,
- 1764 And oft in point gretly to blame,
That may the twrn to feaþt & scham.
Be war for-thi and haf gret dreid,
Quhill þow be passyt thi youthed :
- 1768 Than after disfocioune
Mak thi determynacioune.
Bot gyf that þow disfosit be,
- when old enough, 888
choose thy busi-
ness, 892
and contentedly
896 thank God.
- The stars he
leaves to astro-
logers. 900
- 904
- 908
- [#] Let thy disposi-
tion and decision
be accordant.
- 912
- 916
- Be watchful over
thyself, till thy
youth be passed.
- 920

Avoid vice.

[Fol. 24b.]

He will not advise about taking a wife or not, as many things turn contrary to expectation.

If thou take one,

let her be of a good mother.

If she be badly led, she will become shameless.

Treat thy wife well.

If the fault be on her side,

Fra vycis, fone, refrenȝe the

- 1772 With wertwis, as I haf the tald,
Thai may help the baith ȝong & ald.

924

To¹ consail the a vyf to take
Or ȝit to leif, that I forsak :

- 1776 Quhill hapnis honor and quhill es
Of strenth, of kyne, & of riches,
To sum man ane to sum men all :
And contrar hapnis oft to fall :

928

- 1780 Agan al lyklynes of skill,
Sum hapnis gud, & sum Ill,
As thai ar in thar qualitee,
Or ellis as thai haf caufȝ to bee.

932

- 1784 Quharfor awyf gyf þow wyll haf,
Tak lyklynes, atour the laif,
Of contynans, and of perfone,
Of gud lynag, and gud renown.

936

- 1788 For comonly thai folow kynd,
And gretly to the moderis strind,
Sen thar is bot the lyklyest
Hald ay gud moȝer dochter best :

940

- 1792 And leid hir wyfly with fauore,
Gyf þow wyll haf eȝ and honore.
Be scho in langour led, & blam,
Scho wyll forȝet quhat is scham,

944

- 1796 And fra thin-furcȝt worth mar hardy,
Than ony best is vytterly.
Is nothir feaith, feham na dreid,
Agan hir wyll may than tak fted.

948

- 1800 Be war, my veddyt fone, for-thy
And treit thi wyf rycht tendyrly ;
And gyf hir caufȝ of gud bounte,
Sa that defalt be noctȝt in thee.

952

- 1804 Quhill scho trefpas to the in deid
Fra thyne-furcȝt lat hir self hir leid,

956

¹ In the margin Nota de uxore.

- And wyrk al-an with that wnskill
That seho has chofin of hir wyll.
- 1808 And þow had ere of hir delyte
Haf than hir dedis in disþpyt, 960
And thar-of haf þow noys nane,
Scho wyll tak hyr the contyrpan,
- 1812 And al the surplice of the schame
Scho wyll bere bauldly with the blam : 964
Bot do þow fa thine awne part,
That nane reprove the efterwartz,
- 1816 Na fa that seho was caufß in the
That fuld amove It fo to bee. 968
Gyf þow be man of spekin wyß,
That can with lordys vyne gret price,
- 1820 Set neuer thi wordis our mesour,
Na pled noct bot for thine awn honore, 972 plead only for
And for thine awne posseßione,
That wrangwyfly It ga noct done :
- 1824 Fore wyll þow glaidly Intermet,
þow fal noct wyne thare-one abytyt, 976
Bot ay grow mar & mar in fed
For caufß of mwtyue and of pled,
- 1828 þow fal oft have ful gret magre,
And lytill profyt to the bee ; 980
Bot travell gret for frend & kyne,
And mar dispend na þow may vyne,
- 1832 And vphald caufß wrangwyfly,
And for-do rycht of thi party, 984
That drawis condampnacione,
That mone have gret punyfcione :
- 1836 Than war the better hald the still,
And spend noct thi gud all in Ill. 988
Trow weil, It mone be fwa, ore vere,
Fra þow be mwter at the bare.
- 1840 Gyf þow be fet to merchandis
Quhat thing þow byis, se to the price ; 992 If thou be dis-
posed to trade,
deal wisely,

[Fol. 25.]

and for ready
money.
[Fol. 25b.]

Tutting is op-
posed to trade.

If thou decide
to serve a great
man, be true to
him;

and thou wilt be
rewarded.

Rather serve a
king,

for he, without
loss to himself,
can give much.

And to the dispens maid thar by,
And fell thereafter wyfly.

- 1844 3arn nocht vynyng at-oure mesour,
For dout It fal nocht weil Indwre. 996
Luf nocht gretly aithis to fwere,
Na fyrst nocht mekyll of thi gere.
- 1848 Tak erare gud pay, and leſt vynyng,
Than hecht of mare & fyxſt thy chyinge; 1000
Fore merchandice wald, Ilka day,
By and fell with reddy pay;
- 1852 And It is wnrddy payment
That þow haſt friftit out or lent. 1004
Quharfor, fryſting me think *contrare*
To merchandice and mone empare,
- 1856 And sum quhill mak thi frend thi fa,
Or þow thin awne may get hymē fra. 1008
Gyf þow be ſet to ferue a lord,
Thinkand to have sum gret Rauard,
- 1860 Be lel, lufand, and debonare,
Honest, wnfwere, & answer fare, 1012
Baith to thi lord and to thi pare,
And to the les als veil as mare,
- 1864 Of mesur and of gud manhede.
Gif þow may one this vyſt the led, 1016
Thow fal nocht fail a gud revard.¹
And, gud fone, ferue a mychty man
- 1868 And kep weil to thi labour than;
And althir ereft ſerf a kinge; 1020
Fore tyll hymē fall mekle thinge,
That may nocht leſt his ſtat to gyfe,
- 1872 And may his feruand weil raleif.
That ganis nocht a king to hald, 1024
May rich a feruand many fauld,
Gif he be graciouſt and vyſt,

¹ Here there is a space in the MS. as though a line were left out. There is no line to rhyme with 1017.

- 1876 And can haf er to gud seruifß.
 Quhat lord that can nocht veil do fwa,
 Leif of, and farly gang hym fra.
 Bot always serf hym eleyk,
- 1880 Quhill þow haf tan thi leif but swik,
 And alsua quhill þow haf gud wyll.
 Bot gif he do the al wnskill,
 And þhit bot þow be knawin veill,
- 1884 þow fal bere al the blame ilk deill :
 For comone voice is sum deil laith
 To greif a lord, ore mak hym vraith.
- 1888 **G**yf þow wyl sauf þe fra schowris
 Of gret deseß, of new amouris,
 Be weil ware vith the fyrst meß,
 Gyf þow wyll efter leif in peß :
 Luk nocht hire browis oft betwen,
- 1892 Quhill þow have at dam reson ben,
 And tak thar thine avyfment,
 Gud hop is ay of hire aßent :
 Thai twa be lyklynes can see,
- 1896 Gyf þi þarnyng may grow to thee.
 Gyf thai twa fais the nocht bot nay,
 I pray the vryth thi wyll away ;
 And gif dysþpyt at vantone wyll
- 1900 That hop and resone fais na tyll.
 ȝhit tell I nocht this tail to the,
 Tyll wnderstand in fyk degree,
 To gare the leif of thyne amouris.
- 1904 Youcht, gret riches, & gret honouris
 Be lyk for to mak the latinge
 To bring to purpos thin etlinge.
 Fore manly men, worthy and wyß,
- 1908 May vyne honore, riches & priece
 That may thaim weill to purpos bringe,
 And gar enſchew of thi lufing.
 Bot gyf thyne amouris be to the
- 1028
- Serve thy lord
always the same,
till thou hast left
him.
- 1032
- 1036 Rumour spares
lords.
- [Fol. 26.]
- 1040 Beware of falling
in love ;
- consult reason
and hope.
- 1044
- 1048 If reason and
hope oppose
thee, give up thy
love.
- 1052
- Yet give not up
all love.
- 1056
- Give up thy
loved one if she

be too near of
kin : or if she be
wedded,

wait not for her
husband's death.

The best thing is
to leave off at
onee, before her
charms over-
[Fol. 26b.]
come thee, and
thou find it

hard to escape.

Consult reason
and good hope.

- 1912 To nere of kyne or alye :
Or gyf scho be vedit *with man*, 1064
Say to gud hop aud resone than ;
Gyf thai twa frendis can *nacht* find,
- 1916 That scho may fyk a band wnbynd ;
I pray thee, reul the as thai red, 1068
And *nacht* abyd that manis ded.
Quha wyll abyd, and be *nacht* bet
- 1920 Quhill ded haf done *his certan* det,
Is feldin lord of his delyte, 1072
Bot tynis tyme, eſ and profyt.
The best remed of al sic thing,
- 1924 War to lef of þe bygynyng,
Befor that ficht supprifit bee 1076
Of swet seruice and gret bewtee,
Vith gud *continans* of gud havinge,
- 1928 With faire femblond of Suet lufinge,
With cumlynes of coloure clere, 1080
With blythnes of hir lauchand chere,
With farandnes of fair faſhone,
- 1932 With plesandnes of perfyt persone,
Sice ar the *perellus* merouris 1084
Entifand þonge men til amouris,
The ofter that men luk thaim in
- 1936 The were away fra thaim thai vyne.
Fore-thi, my fone, do as I fay ;
And it fal lyk the, dare I lay.
Ore þow luk oft in fyk meroure,
- 1940 Tak resone to thi confuloure,
And gud hop, as I said the ere, 1092
And pres to do as thai the lere.
With luf is langſum lyf to led
- 1944 Quhar thai twa can *nacht* help na sped.
Syk luf vanhop wyll were away, 1096
And wantone wyll fal tyne the pray.
Tak gud kep al wais to this pafe ;

- 1948 Fore here ar vrytin, in lytill space,
 Sum thing*is* that may help & sped,
 To know the cours of thi *ȝouthed* :
 And of the mydys, and of thin eild,
 1952 As þow has feld, and mar fal feild.
Sum tymis at the prineypall
 Of cild, as the I rekin fall,
 Ilkan of thaim hafþ fere *ȝarnyngis*,
 1956 And fere entent, and fere etlyng*is* ;
 Sa is our tyme vnstable here,
 And led with mony fantescis fere,
 That chang*is* ay condiscione
 1960 To thar sympill perfeccioun.
The formeſt of thire eild*is* fere
 I ſet within the fyrf thre *ȝere*.
 Than buſkiſ child to ſpekk ore ga,
 1964 And to wyt quhat is na & *ȝa*,
 Sa lang can nocht ellis cheld think
 Bot one the met, and one the drink,
 On noryß, and on ſlep, thai thre ;
 1968 Syk is the formeſt proprytee,
 Rycht as a beſt child can no mare,
 Bot lauch ore gret for Joy & care,
 Na beſt has thai twa properteis
 1972 Bot feid of mankind, as þow feis.
 This eild has kind of grovin thing,
 And as beſt it havis feilinge.
The toſter eild, I wnderſtand,
 1976 **I**s fra thre *ȝer* to vij leſtand.
 Sa lang havis child wyl alwaye
 With flouris for to Jap and playe ;
 With ſtikis, and with ſpalys ſmall,
 1980 To byge vp chalmer, ſpens & hall ;
 To mak a wicht horſ of a wand ;
 Of brokin breid a ſchip faland ;
 A bunwed tyll a burly ſpere ;
- Attend to what
is here written.
- 1100
- 1104 Each age has its
various desires
and pursuits.
- 1108
- 1112 The *first* age up
to three years
old,
- 1116 [Fol. 27.]
when the child
thinks only of
food and sleep.
- 1120 laughing and
crying,
- 1124
- The *second* age
is from the 3rd
to the 7th years.
- 1128 The child plays
at building
houses,
- 1132 and making
ships,

and decking it-
self with flowers.

This age is inno-
cent, and neither
the best nor the
worst.

The *third* age is
from the 7th to
the 15th year.

Then springs up
reason,

most perfect after
the 30th year;

[Fol. 27b.]

without this
grace, even em-
perors and kings

shall have shame
and loss,

and their suc-
cessors, for want of
it,

1984	And of a feg a fwerd of were ; A cumly lady of a clout ; And be ryght befy thar about To dieht It fetely with flouris,	1136
1988	And luf the pepane <i>paramouris</i> : And be fyk vantone vyrk weill Thi dayly dawark is done ilk deill. This eild is <i>lycht</i> and Innocent,	1140
1992	Suppos It want gud Jugment : For-thi I blef it <i>nocht</i> as best, Na <i>ȝit</i> I wary it <i>nocht</i> as verft. It growis vp as gerfȝ, or tree,	1144
1996	And as a best may feil & see. Ekand the thrid condiscione þow fal confauf It as refone.	1148
2000	T he thrid eild, after myn entent, A s fra vij quhill xv be vente ; Than springis rutis of refone That beris the froyt disereffione.	1152
2004	Bot thai ryp <i>nocht</i> sa hafstely : Quhen thretty ȝer ar paflit by, Than cum thai to perfeccione, Baith refone and discreccione,	1156
2008	And bringis furȝt gud Jugment, Tyll ordan weil of thar assent ; Gif ony grace be grantyt thare Fore gud disert, as I faid are.	1160
2012	For, wyt þow weill, for out that thinge That nothire emperor, na king, Na knyght, na clerk of na degré, Than he fal oft anoyt bee,	1164
2016	And schame or feaith have til his <i>parte</i> ; And sum of his, thar efterwarte, Sal dere aby, and say “ allace ! We wat <i>nocht</i> quhy vs vantis grace ; ”	1168
	Fore vnderstandinge haf thai <i>nocht</i> ,	

- 2020 Na can nocht dem, na have in thocht
 Thar for-bearis werk na deid; 1172
 Na can nocht weil thaim felwyn led :
 Bot infortone thaim in grewys.
- 2024 Thai say god wrangvysly to thaim prewyss,
 Aud wnderstandis nocht that he 1176
 Consideris caufß, and qualytee
 Of al thing fal be and was :
- 2028 As gud disfert which, or tresspas,
 Have revard or pwnyssione :
 And that is his perfeccione.
 The first movar withoutin dout
- 2032 Sa evynly ledis al about,
 That with a balance batht haldis hee
 To wey baith eaufß and qualytee,
 As gud disfert wyll thar to lay,
- 2036 Or tresspas wyll tak away,
 Als veill a kynryk as a eroft
 Beis in thar balans laid on loft :
 For wyt þow weil, he fittis heich,
- 2040 And has a balans larg and dreich,
 That weil may harvry al at anis, 1192
 Baith vind and watter, erd & stanis :
 All haß he turnand one a pyne
- 2044 As hym lyft luf and deil in twyne.
 Than, think me, men fuld be ryght laith
 To greif hym, and to mak hym vraith,
 That honor, es, or possesione,
- 2048 Throw loue, ore grace, ore throw renown,
 In til his hand has hyngand ay 1200
 To gyf, ore len, or tak away.
 Caufß quhy I spek sa mekle here
- 2052 Off gud disfert, I wyll þow lere.
 In this eild that spekis her to
 The thing that ilke man fuld do ;
 His befynes in that seslone,
- cannot rule even
themselves, but
blame God, who
- grants it accord-
ing to men's de-
serts,
- 1184 which he weighs
as in a balance,
- 1188 high and low
alike.
- [Fol. 28.]
- Men should be
loath to grieve
Him, who can
give or take
away all honours
and wealth.
- Why I speak of
good deserts.

In this age the
roots of reason
should be care-
fully tended,

as she tells us the
difference be-
tween things.

What to do and
what to avoid.

[Fol. 28b.]

Do nothing
against her
wishes.

She is now, how-
ever, young and
weak, and does
not prevent play-
ing at ball,

- 2056 Quhen rut*is* spring*is* of refone,
That thai be kepit fare & clen,
And tenderly always meyne, 1208
That refone gevynne vas to al men
- 2060 To gare vs vnderstand and ken
Quhat is wertew, & quhat is vyce ; 1212
And quha is full, and quha is vyß ;
Quhar-for men fuld have gud pardone,
- 2064 And quharfor Ill pwniffionne ;
Quhat is soure, and quhat is fwet ; 1216
Quhat is all sytand, and quhat is met ;
Quhat thinge is foul, and quhat is fare ;
- 2068 Quhat may help, and quhat may pare ;
With mekle mare than I can say, 1220
Dame refone bring*is* with hir ay.
Quharfor scho fuld be rycht weleum,
- 2072 Scho and hire branchis, al & sum,
And nan with wyce defoulyt bee, 1224
Sen scho can al persane and fee
The flat of wyt and of wertew,
- 2076 Quhat to do, and quhat enschew.
And god, that ordanyt hire feruande 1228
To man and woman here growand,
Quha wyrk*is* nocht at hir dewyce
- 2080 Efter hir entent hym self pwnys.
Be ware, my sone, fra þow hire knew,
Honore hire, and stand [in] gret aw 1232
To wyrk aganis hire entent;
- 2084 Or ell*is* rychtwyß Jugment
Wyll pwnyß the for thi trespass, 1236
Hir tyll asslith and clyand was.
Bot now youcht þouthed in his eild
- 2088 Sa wrangwyfly hir werk*is* weld ;
For refone than is zong & wak, 1240
And may nocht lat that eild to laik,
Now at the lwm, now at the kill,

- 2092 Now at the prop, and vthir quhill
 Ryne at baris, and at the ball,
 And at the caich play with all,
 Now at the tablis, now at the ches,
 1244 and chess,
- 2096 Weill oft and feldin at the mes,
 And mekle with playing at the dyee,
 That werk þit hald I maift wnwýþ :
 For thar is aithis fet at nocht,
 1248 and dice, which
 is worst of all
 games.
- 2100 And infortone tomekil focht,
 In tyll entent of cowatice,
 That is moder of ilk wyce.
 My fone, Set nocht thi happynes,
 1252 Give not thyself
 to this,
- 2104 In na syk plays, mar na les :
 And þit I may the nocht for-bed
 Fra syk as thir in thi þouthed.
 Bot, gud fone, think ay vertwifly
 1256
- 2108 To leif, and nocht syk plays by :
 Bot schap to ber sum gud feiens,
 Ma help the to vphald thi spens,
 In eild and tribulacioun ;
 1260 but get know-
 ledge.
- 2112 Quhen tyme of vynynge turnys down.
 This eild is thowles and wnsware,
 And þarnis play, and al blycht chere,
 And settis trawall oft at nocht ;
 1264 This age values
 not industry.
- 2116 Quhen play may halely esþ fer thocht.
 It louis weill to leif be wyll,
 And callis refone oft vnskill ;
 It can nocht be refrenȝhit weill,
 1268 [Fol. 29.]
- 2120 Quhen It is wod, and wraith sum deill.
 The ferd eild gyf þow lykis to know,
 Efter as I can, I fal the schaw.
 Fra xv þer be palfit by
- 2124 It leftis weill til ful thretty,
 And growis bewtee & bountee,
 And strenth of body and qualitee :
 & bewte, gyf I futh fal fay,
 1276 Its personal
 strength and
 beauty,
- 1272 The fourth age
 is from the 15th
 to the 30th year.

- | | | |
|------|--|------|
| 2128 | Is fyrſt in place and fyrſt away,
Fore failȝeand ſcho fallis downe
Befor ſcho met with full reſone.
Fore-thi thar wnderſtanding falȝeis, | 1280 |
| 2132 | Quhen ſubtilyte hire oucht aſſalȝeis.
Fore ſcho is ȝong, and tendir baith,
And can nocht weill enchew the ſeaſth,
Na anſuer weil to argwment; | 1284 |
| 2136 | And be ſecho trawalyt, ſecho is fehent.
Thir women kind hir louis maſt,
And ſpendis mekle gud in waſt,
To have loving of hir that faire; | 1288 |
| 2140 | And ſum tendis to be hir aire,
And bring hir fredome in hir tetylล,
And haf na rycht ore ellis lytill:
And ſum, for dout that thar be playnt, | 1292 |
| 2144 | Wyll prefȝ þaim prewaly to paynt :
Bot quha ſa wyrkis that trefone
Beis nocht hir air, for gud reſone:
For bewte eumys of prope kind, | 1296 |
| 2148 | And payntit al of vthir ſtrind.
Sen bewte may nocht duel alway,
Be fykire of bownte gyf þu may.
Be ſecho weill tretit, as I trow, | 1300 |
| 2152 | Scho wyll left as lang as þow.
And eſter ȝit at þu be ded,
Scho wyll be leftand in thi ſted,
And do the ſome prefent agan : | 1304 |
| 2156 | Than, think me, þu fuld do the pan
Tyll hawe of bownte gret delyte;
That ilke wyee havis na deſſpyte.
The aire of bounte is honore, | 1308 |
| 2160 | That langer wyll thanc life endure.
Gyf þow wyll wyt quhat is bounte, ¹
Or quhar-of is his qualitee : | 1312 |

most admired by women.

Some paint themselves, but real beauty is genuine.

Make sure of
goodness,

[Fol. 29b.]

whose heir is

¹ In the margin is Nota of bwyte.

- Scho is gudnes fore-ontin wyce
- 2164 That fore na gold wald tyne *hir* price.
Sic frendys as fcho prineypall
Tyll hald hire vp, quhill thai ar haill,
And gud kyndnes, fair honeste,
- 2168 Suet hamlynes, & clen lawte,
Ewyne rychtwisnes in Jugment,
And vñquhill mercyfull entent,
Metly meswre withe manhed ;
- 2172 To syk as thir, my sone, tak hed.
For thai ar frendis that bounte
Havis ay delyt vp-one to See,
And ay ar maist in hir prefens,
- 2176 And stand fore hir, and mak defens.
Quha hurtis thaim with ony wyce,
Thai tak fra bounte of hir price.
Suppos syk part amendyt bee,
- 2180 Thar wyll remayne sum vem to se
Efter, as the hurt is les ore mare.
Fore-thi, my sone, do thaim na faire :
Quha thaim engrevys, in ony thinge,
- 2184 He dois to bounte defowlinge.
And at this tyme of xv þere,
The tyme of bounte cummys nere ;
For than may þow baith gang & ryd,
- 2188 And þhit begyne to laik besyde,
And wyrk syk werkis as a mane :
Men wyll luk to thi bounte than,
And als sone by thi werkis knew
- 2192 Quheþer þow to wyce or vertew draw.
Fore þow art best havand resone,
And tyme is thane of dyuifione;
That is to say, to mak vynynge
- 2196 Be twex vertwis and vicious thing.
And fre wyll ek is grantit the,
As þe think to lifand bee.
- 1316
and her friends,
kindness, hon-
esty, etc.,
- 1320
- 1324
are most with
her,
- 1328
- 1332
therefore hurt
them not.
- 1336
- 1340
At this age thou
wilt show
whether thou art
inclined to vice
or virtue.
- 1344 [Fol. 30.]
- 1348

- Bot kindly inclynacionne
- 2200 Ore vengans *pervert* thi refone,
And *ȝarnfull* prayar and sciens
Agan thaim baith may mak defens.1352
- 2204 Has vtyng in syk fymbly caþ,
And profetis, in thar profesy,
Says prayar ledis vengans by,1356
That sciens and perfeccione
- 2208 May for do dispofisioune;
Quhen hart and wyll & gret *ȝarnyng*
Wyll pray to god to grant fice thing.1360
Fore gret *ȝarnyng* of gud prayar,
- 2212 Quhar consciens was hail & clere,
ȝed neuer away, but grant of grace,1364
Senmekil gud fyrf movar was.
For-thi, my sone, gyf þow be wyþ,
- 2216 þow mone forbere gret couatyce,
Sen It for-dois perfyt sciens,1368
And gud prayere, and consciens,
And blindis hart, wyll & thocþt,
- 2220 That thai to Refone fe rycht noeht.
Bot as the Swetnes of vynnyng1372
May maist empleþ to þar *ȝarnynge*,
And noþer schaith, schame na ded,
- 2224 Agan syk *ȝarnyng* may tak sted,
Bot ay the eldar that þow bee,1376
The mar the vyee encouerys the,
And makis the bot a kepar knawin,
- 2228 Quhar þow fuld lord be of thin awin.
And quhen þow *ȝarnis* al to have,1380
Thau beis þow left and all the lave.
In this eild, I say to thee,
- 2232 Growis of body and quantite,
And blud haboundand is in licht,1384
And wyrkis wyll to worth sa wycþt;
- Prayer leads vengeance by.
- Beware of covetousness,
- which increases with age.

- That gudlynes, in that sesone,
2236 And wyt and rycht, ewyne resone,
Beis al fore-ȝet in the sum quhill.
Than standis þow in gret perell,
& nan may help the in the casȝ, Reason is some-times forgotten,
2240 Bot gud differte, that steris grace.
For gud differt, before pasande,
Refrenȝis grace to cum folowand.
Quharfor, my sone, I say to thee,
2244 Quhill þow art in prospertyee,
And nocht pressit with gret perell,
For dout infortone the begyll
Thar efterwart, quhen þow has ned,
2248 And nane bot grace thane may the sped,
Sen hail purpos, & gret ȝarnyng,
Can gud differt ay to the bring,
And gud differt, as I said ere,
2252 Can procure grace, ay for to were
Thi part fra mischeif, and fra dreid,
And neuer wyll failȝe the at ned.
This eild is Joly, proud and gay,
2256 And louis weil ay new aray,
And settis nocht by tynsell gret
Bot thinkis ay mar to get :
And fore perell is nocht ful rad,
2260 Thocht It be sumquhill nakyt stad.
The fyfte eild, as I can declare,
Fra fully xxx to fyfty ȝere.
Than ringis the perfeccioune
2264 Of resone and disreccioune,
That maist can of gud Jugment,
Gyf grace be procuryt of aſſent,
Be s̄cho nocht fwa, thar beis a lat,
2268 And Jugment beis al forȝet,
And vilfulnes and mys̄knewleg
Ay wodly weildand, in a rage,
- 1388
and men are in
great peril, but
for grace;
- 1392
- 1396
- 1400
which follows
good desert.
- 1404
- 1408
- 1416
- 1412 The fifth age is
from the 30th to
the 50th year, in
which should be
the perfection of
reason,
- [Fol. 31.]
- 1420

or else time is
misused.

- And waitis wynyng al away,
 2272 And lattis our-dryf, fra day to day.
 Syk tyme is raklefly our-rwn, 1424
 And eild our-gan, na grace begwn.
 For, as I ere said, in a part,
 2276 Grace will nocht be, but gud differt;
 And gud differt will nocht vpspring, 1428
 But hail purpos and gret ȝarnynge
 Of godis help, that ȝarnis all,
 2280 That was and is & for to fall.
 Fore quhen god makis men alard 1432
 He ȝarnys nocht tyll his reward,
 And leif nocht resone wil at rycht,
 2284 And luf and dout his mekle mycht,
 And loue his nychtbour bot as he 1436
 Wald with his nychtbour louit be.
 And thai tway thingis certanly
 2288 Ar hail the law and profesfy.
 Bot gret farly have I in thocht, 1440
 That quhen ȝouthed to eild is brocht,
 And tyme is cumyne, of al resone,
 2292 Suld be of ful perfeccione,
 I fe to few have gret delyt, 1444
 To knaw wertew, ore be perfyt,
 And eild, that fuld repruf & plenȝe,
 2296 And preb al wycis to refrenȝe,
 Wmquhill is twrnyt with inwy, 1448
 And wmquhill led with lichory,
 Wmquhill sa blynd, or couatice,
 2300 Eild can nocht se to rapref wyce.
 Quhat ferly is than at fyk men,
 That eild may noþir help, na ken,
 Wnhappely thar tyme our-dryf
 2304 That noþir auld na ȝong wyl thrif?
 Suppos thai be deelbynand down 1452
 And fautis of perfeccione,

Love God and
love thy neighbour.

This age is some-
times filled with
envy,

*

- Thai wyl nocht knew, na haf in mynde,
 2308 Thar vrechit failȝeand fenȝit kynd ; [Fol. 31b.]
 Bot leif furcht as the beftis wyld,
 Till courfȝ of eild have thaim begylyt.
 Syk men thar trespas lewis nocht,
- 2312 Bot It lef thaim, quhen thai na mocht.
 As I fal ȝit ensampil schaw
 Of fere men levand as I knew.
 Bot þow fal nocht in speciall
- 2316 Wyt quhome of that I tell my tail,
 Na war cald of disreccione,
 And falȝeid of perfeccione ;
 For ay the vyfar that thai war,
- 2320 Thar gudlynes fuld be the mare.
 And ay the gretar fenȝory
 Suld leid thar fstat mar mesour by ;
 And gif that it war realtee,
- 2324 Of al thing rychtwyȝ fuld it bee.
 For mekil god, the first mwar,
 Has hordand al thing, lefȝ & mare,
 And gudlynes, and evyne mesur,
- 2328 And rychtwyȝnes weil til endur.
 Bot now is ilkan, of thir thre,
 Misgouernyt in thar degree.
 For wyt is twrnyt in mail engyne,
- 2332 And falsat turnyt in quantite syne,
 And gudlynes Is al forȝet,
 And malice portar at the ȝet,
 And gret lordship and fenȝory,
- 2336 Is hail ourtan with tyrandry,
 That ay with mesur is at fed
 And fosteris fellony in his sted,
 That louit neuer his lord a laſt
- 2340 Bot he ware tyrand at the maift.
 And realte, that fuld haf na peire,
 And kingis now of landis feire,
- 1460 and acts like the
beasts.
- 1464
- 1468
- The wiser men
are, the more
godlyshouldthey
be;
- 1472
- 1476
- 1480
- 1484 but men forget
all godliness,
- 1488
- 1492

and right and
law are asleep.

[Fol. 32.]

David tells us of

the wicked man,

whom God will
destroy, and the
good shall say
of him,

"This man
trusted not in
God."

Such a man was
Mortimer,

and there are
others such,

- Ryght as thai luf, or as thai dem,
2344 Ourtyrwand baith thai haf to þem.
Sa ryght and law is laid to sleip. 1496
- Wyll thar na king to thaim ta kep?
Quha wyl ta gud kep to thar end,
2348 That thus wyll al thar lyf dispend?
þow fal fynd futh, in fanet dawy, 1500
Said in his buk in prophesy,
Quhy has þow Joy and mavyte,
2352 Man mychty in iniquite?
Al day spak thar twng vnrycht, 1504
As sesharp rasour þow dyd ill flycht,
þow lufyt malice atour gudnes,
2356 Wykitnes to spek, mar than evynes.
þow lufyt al wordys to gar men fall, 1508
With wylful twng, for-thi god fall
Diftryo the our ryght to the end,
2360 And the out of his houſ defend,
That na man fal thi rutis ken 1512
In to the land of levand men.
Gud men fal fe, and dout al way,
2364 And at hymre suin thai lach & say:
" Se þone man the quhilk wald noct 1516
Put godis help in to his thocht,
Bot traistit hail in his riches,
2368 And neuuer of vanite wald feß."
This was the superscriptione 1520
One mortymar was wrytin dounie,
Quhen he was ded, vpone his graif
2372 Thir wordis ware his ypitaf:
In laiting twng, quha lykit luk, 1524
May find thaim in the falter buk:
In dout that syk, and war than he,
2376 Amang our lardis levand bee.
Tharfor thar propre accioune, 1528
With al thar procuracioune,

- Wyll besy thaim, and gyf na taill,
2380 Tyll hurt the comon profyt haill,
And rakis noct̄, thocht al war schent,
Bot thai mycht cum to thar entent.
That wald haf gret pwniscioune,
- 2384 For It is wer than is tresone.
Bot thai can couer so subtilly,
That few can weil persaif thar by
The gret mischeif that is to fall,
2388 To scaith the comon profyt all.
Sum oþer fellon men ȝit ar
That gyf a man had don hym fare,
Lauchful or evyne pwniscioune
- 2392 May thaim assith be na resone,
Bot lyf and lordship and lynag
War hail our-done with gret outrag ;
Sice men excedis in doing
- 2396 The courþ of goddis pwnising,
And wald be gretar lord than hee.
How hapnis of syk men, now see,
That wyll punys our mesure,
- 2400 That simplare fore thar gret erour,
Outhir thai are yaris with gret pan
Sal as thai met resauf agan,
And be fordone out of memore,
- 2404 As thai wald have done before.
Quhai wyll tak gud kep to this taill,
Has sen fal thus and after fall.
To that say I no forthir now,
- 2408 My wordis wyll noct̄ sum men trow :
Bot quhay fa leffis, efterwartz
Sall fynd to wytnes weil my part ;
This eild can trawail best endure,
- 2412 And wyne worship, and gret honore ;
May nothir auld na ȝonge It blame,
Bot gyf thai do thaim felwyn scham.
- 1532
[Fol. 32b.]
- 1536
though few per-
ceive the harm
they do.
- 1540
Others are full
of revenge,
- 1544
- 1548
- 1552 who shall be
punished as they
have punished
others.
- 1556
- 1560
- This age endures
toil best, and is
pleasant.
- 1564

[Fol. 33.]
The *sixth* age is
from the 50th to
the 70th, or 80th
year, in some
cases;

- For It has part of gud *ȝouthed*,
 2416 And of gret eild It havis na dreid ;
 Thai thretty *ȝer* are to comende,
 Fore thai ar gud at athir ende. 1568
- T**he sext eild as I can ken,
 2420 Fra fyfty to thre scor and ten,
 Ore to four scor of *ȝeris* fully,
 Leftis in men of kind mycht. 1572
 Bot now thar hapnis few of thai,
 2424 Complexione ar failȝeand say,
 With tyme al thing mone were & wan,
 Bot goddis mycht and god allan.
 Gyf god ordanit ilke thinge,
 2428 For to endur for-out failȝeing,
 Quhat wald men say of fice a cast ?
 Sum men mycht argew atte last,
 And pruf with resone his entent,
 2432 Than war *nächt* god that kind has lent
 To sum lynage ay nobilitie
 And worship and prosperitye,
 To sum vthir powert al wayis,
 2436 Neid and mischeif in al thar days,
 Al thire ar lyk tyll vthire ay,
 And standis in a state al waye,
 Al vthir thing in a degré,
 2440 And in a stat of qualytee,
 But changeinge of condisioune,
 Sa ware thar far conclusioune
 To say that mekle god *nächt* ware,
 2444 But courſ of kind ware al movare.
 It is *nächt* fwa, luk now my skill ;
 Al thing changis at the wyll
 Of mekle god, the first movare,
 2448 And efter as the caus ware.
 For sen with his perfeccioune,
 He ekis wp or twrnys downe, 1600

- And changis tyme an wodus baith,
- 2452 Sum men to profyt, and sum to scaith,
Quhilys peſſ and proſperyte, 1604
Quhilys weir and gret *infyrmyte*
Of puple *with* gret peſtelens,
- 2456 Againſ kind and al ſciens ; [Fol. 33b.]
Our tyrfand kindly cours ilk day :
Quharfore it profytis weil al way,
That god wyll noct he be forȝet,
- 2460 With thaim that fuld hyme ken of det,
As he thaim feis of bountee,
He wyll thai knaw his maieſte,
To trow and ken hyme for thare lord,
- 2464 To punys ore to mak rewarde,
Bot þhit for al that he can do,
I fe rycht few tak kep thar to, 1612
Als weil thir men of eldar ſtate,
- 2468 As childer that ar ȝong and hate,
Misteris of ſciens gret and wys,
And lordys baith, for couatise
Ar blindyt fa thai can noct fee,
- 2472 With warldly corrumppit qualytee,
That failȝeis faintly ilke day,
And vanis vrechitly away.
Quhen men has leuit an hundereth þer,
- 2476 Thaim think it bot a dremyng here,
And thai have ſen in a wyſioune :
Lo here fympyll perfeccioune
That entris first *with* miſknewlege
- 2480 Of ȝouthed, wedand in a rage,
And fyne *with* couatice blynd.
And at the last can na thing fynd
That is perfyt of propertee,
- 2484 Bot endis rycht as vanytee.
This eild that paſſis fyfty þer
Is ftale, couatus and fwere,
- 1608
and will not be forgotten.
- 1616
Few, whether young or old, remember this.
- 1620
1624
A hundred years are but as a dream.
- 1628
1632
1636 This age is stable covetous,

- Bot gyf that kindly properte
- 2488 Trefpas and ere in that degre,
And fuld be wylf in a dyspens
And tender of gud consciens,
For he wat nocth how lang to leif
- and few pass out
of it,*
- 2492 Fra that god fyk tyme to hym gyf.
Gyf ane fyk eild paffis at-oure,
Comonly thar faylzeis four.
For-thi the prophet, saint dawy,
- [Fol. 34.]*
- 2496 Sais in the psalter graciously,
That halynes in eild fuld bee,
Be kindly manis propreteee.
For eild fuld haf perfeccyonne,
- David says old
men should be
holy,*
- 2500 To knaw and mak diuifione,
Betwen trespas and gudlynes.
For-thi fuld eild loue halynes,
And haill declyne a propreteee,
- Such should es-
chew covetous-
ness.*
- 2504 Gyf It wald think haly to bee,
That is to say, gret couatice,
That baith encumbrice ful & wyce :
Bot quhar a man fettis his entent
- 2508 Thar maist thar hart and wyll is lent ;
Quhar euer a manis tresoure ware,
The wangell fais his hart is thar.
This eild fuld stable be alway,
- Where a man's
treasure is, there
is his heart.*
- 2512 And lovis ernyst mar than play,
And rycht ȝarnfull for to wyne gud,
And wyll for tynsell ga ner wood.
It lwisurryt clraithis wylde,
- This age loves
wise counsel.*
- 2516 And has diffpyt at cost, and pryd ;
It ȝarnis gretly the assent
Of confail and awayfment.
- The seventh age
is from four-
score years,*
- 2520 **T**he sevynt eild that I rakin last,
Fra that fourscore of ȝeris be past,
Al kind away is worne fa ner
Has lytill es of lyking here,
- 1640
- 1644
- 1648
- 1652
- 1656
- 1660
- 1664
- 1668
- 1672

- That fuld haf lyking eſþ or play and has little pleasure;
- 2524 For wneſþ gange ore ſter he may. 1676
- The ryg is growin al of lenth,
And lymys al has tynt thar lenth,
That cumrytly thai cruk al doune
- 2528 And falȝeis al perfeccione
Of wyt, and ftrength, of hyd & hew, 1680
That neuer may be reftoryt new.
It cheuerys as it war for cheill,
- 2532 And plenȝeys, for default of heill.
And quhill hafþ appetyt and wyll 1684
As fallis wantone childyr tyll.
It changis kindly cours twrnand
- 2536 To latiſ ſong & wneunand, 1688
And forȝetful alſua, and lycht,
In thingis that it gart do or dycht,
Bot as a child fuld knaw ore hawe
- 2540 It wat na mare of al the laife, 1692
That It has hard, baith feld & fen,
It failȝeis memore one to men.
ȝit is it wer of condiscioune
- 2544 Than ȝouthed, fore It haldis doune, 1696 is worse than youth, for it improves not.
And worthis waikar ilke day,
Quhar ȝouthed growis wp al way.
Albert, the ſubtyll clerk and wyf,
- 2548 That in his tyme feruit gret price, 1700
And honeſtly, in gud maner,
Declaryt propreteis feir,
How kind dois man and beſt to bee,
- 2552 And fyſch and foul, in thar degree,
Thar findrynes of condiscioune, 1704 so wisely on
Throw his ſubtill perfeccioune,
In tyll his tyme he opnit out
- 2556 þat war unknawing & to dowt,
And left findry experimentis, 1708
þat prove; weil fucht his ententis,

- þat aristotil in til his days,
- 2560 Na plato twichet, be na wais,
þet þai war wifar fere þan he, 1712
Schuld his part ȝhit commendit be.
þan ȝhit þis eilde, I spak of eire,
- 2564 Did him forȝhet him self so neire,
Quhen his disciple had him schaving 1716
Syndry doctrinȝ of his awn,
He wift richtnocht quhat fuld be doin,
- had forgotten all
his knowledge.
- 2568 Bot as a child wald greit al foin,
And covth ansuer at na resoun, 1720
Na wit quhat wes þar questioun.
þis eild is wnfair of fasoun,
- Old age
- 2572 And failȝes of perfectioun,
Off seymlynes of hyd & hair,
þat euer may be restoryd mair. 1724
Beand of wer condicioun,
- 2576 It is forȝhet disferecioun :
And as of Child of ȝong maner,
Wil change fantasias feire, 1728
For lytil blythe, for lytil wraith,
- is changeable as
a child,
- 2580 For lytil leif, for lytil laith ;
Fra tyme haif woirn awaye resoun, 1732
Sik is of eild conclusioun,
As gryt ȝovthed has na knaving,
- and has forgotten
everything.
- 2584 Richt sa gret eild has tynt þat thing,
That it eir knev, quhat is þer þan, 1736
Lyvand by kynd, of ony man ?
Richt nocht, bot gud recorde or evil,
- 2588 As he determinit in his will,
Or in his deid, or þan *in* baith, 1740
Quheþer it proffit war, or skaith.
Bot geve he set him in al thing,
- 2592 To be werteus in his lifing,
It is to deme þat he micht emplefe 1744
Til wertu and to gudlinesse.

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| | And for þe gud of richt riches ¹ | Virtuous men
enjoy life, |
| 2596 | On to wise men rewardit be,
For lyf in Joie fal sic as he,
Baith in his tyme and efterwart.
Bot quha fa cheff̄ nocht that part, | 1748 |
| 2600 | And wyciouly, quhill he is here,
Diffpendis furtht fyk werkis fere,
Rycht of diseß al thing mone have ;
For thoeht, and will, and al the laif | [Fol. 35b.]
but vicioſe men
have annoyancē,
1752 |
| 2604 | Of his spreitis ar fet to bee
In anger and perplexitee,
To bring to purpos ill þarnynge,
In al the tyme of his levinge. | 1756 |
| 2608 | Of angre and ire fulfyllyt is,
Sa fal he here have lytil blis :
And efterwart pwniscionne,
Ffor he diffpendyt his resone | 1760 and little plea-
sure, with pun-
ishment after-
ward for misused
ability. |
| 2612 | In wyeis agan kindly skill
That mone be pwnift, at his wyll
That lord is our al kindly thinge,
And ordand thaim in thar doinge | 1764 |
| 2616 | For gud deid fuld revardyt bee,
And pwnift for iniquitee. | 1768 |
| | <i>And þocheþ war noþer hell nor hewyne,</i> | Without reward |
| | þit this opvnyone haldis ewyne | |
| 2620 | All the philosophuris, leß and mare,
That to be wertewis better it ware
Than vicioſi in ony thinge.
For fyrſt wertew of al moving, | 1772 men should be
virtuous. |
| 2624 | That sterys kind in al degré,
Wyll ay reward al gud bounte,
And punyß wyee be sumkyne way,
þocheþ ilke man it ken ne may : | 1776 |
| 2628 | For nane may knew, na wyt, na fynd,
The fyndrynes of courſ and kind. | 1780 |

¹ Apparently from the rhymes a line is lost, though there is no space left in the MS.

Believe the wisest
men,

[Fol. 36.]

who say that
virtue is better
than vice;

as all possessing
reason should
remember.

The treatise now
is ended,

which well de-
clares what men
should know.

May he, who
wrote it,

come to the bliss
of heaven.

- For-thi trow to the viseſt men
Of ſciens, that couth tech and ken,
2632 As virgyll, plato, ſocratas,
Ypocras, arafoteles, 1784
And alſua ſalamone the wys,
Al thir determys one a wyß,
2636 With vthir may than I can fay,
That better is to be vertwiß ay 1788
Than vnhoneſt or viciouß.
For vertew is ay pretiouß,
2640 And wyß corrumpyt is al way,
That nan may eftter of it fay, 1792
Bot ſcaith and blam and wnfarnes.
Quharfor It fuld be lufyt les
2644 Than fuld wertew be courß of kind,
Than fuld al beſtis have in mynd
That kind has grantyt to knawinge
Be twene vertew and vicious thinge.
- 2648 Now pene, I pray the reſt the here,
For now is endyt this matere; 1800
The quhilk is ratis raving cald,
Bot for na raving I it hald;
2652 Bot for rycht wys and gud teching,
And weill declaris fyndry thinge, 1804
That is rycht nedfull for to knew,
As the ſentens It wyll fehaw.
2656 And to gret god be the lovyngē
Quhais graice has grantit this ending,
And tyll his bliſ his faul mote bringe,
That trawell tuk of this treting.
2660 And the vrytar, for his meid,
God grant hym euer weill to ſpeid,
And gyf hym grace fa here to do,
The blys of hevyne that he cum to.
- 2664 Amen, etc.

(8.) “THE FOLY OF FULYS AND THE THEWIS
OF WYSMEN.”

	S EN vysmen that be fore our dawis	[Fol. 36b.]
	Studyt in prophesy, and in lawis,	The men of old studied pro- phesy,
	In syndry sciens of clergeis,	
2668	Cornykes, Romans, and storys,	4
	Mayd diuerſ ſ compilaciounys,	
	Eftyr thar inclinaciouns,	
	Sum of myraclys & halynes,	history.
2672	Sum of conquest and riches,	8
	Sum of armys and honowris,	
	Sum of luf and paramouris,	
	Sum of luſtis and of delyte,	
2676	Ilkane efter thar appetyte,	12
	Fore to remayne efter thar dais,	romancee, to teach the ignorant ;
	To tech wn-letteryt folk al ways,	
	For word, but writ, as vynd our-gais,	
2680	& after that fmal profet mais,	16
	And wryt remains and prentis in hart,	
	To thaim that fal cum efterwart.	
	Quharfor thir men, that has knewleg,	
2684	Suld tech that ware of tender age.	20
	For quha confelys wyſdomē or wyt	so men should do now; for to hoard knowledge is worse than to hoard gold;
	And noct delitis to tech of It,	
	He synnys mar excedandly,	
2688	And offendis god mar grewofly,	24
	Na for tyll hurd gret quantyte	
	Of gold, that neuer fundyne fuld bee.	
	For we find, wrytin in prophesy,	
2692	That men fuld prech, tech and cry,	28
	Rapruſand erour, foly and wyce,	
	Lovand wyt, wertew and Justice.	

[Fol. 37.]
since wisdom
surpasses riches.

Wisdom loves all
that love it.

Wise men do not
invent new know-
ledge,

they only restore
it.

Man lives not by
bread alone,

	For he gevis mar, at wertew schawis,	
2696	And techis god and manis lawis,	32
	Na to del gold in haboundans,	
	To folke that ar of Ignorans.	
	For vysdome passis all Riches,	
2700	Als far as lycht paſt myrknes,	36
	Or hevyne is na the erd mare hye,	
	Na stan of vertew that may bee,	
	And suetar als, and of mare lust,	
2704	Than erdly thing that man may gust.	40
	And qubay-sa lykis wysdome till heire,	
	Dreid nocht thai mone be wyse, but veire;	
	Fore wysdome luvis al at it lovis,	
2708	And fleis fra thaim that It raprevis.	44
	Qwhay is of god delytis hymē ay	
	The word of god tyll heir alway.	
	Quhay with wysmen haldis cumpany,	
2712	Thai cum to wysdome comonly.	48
	And quahay the romans lykis to rede,	
	Wysdome fal folow, have na dreid.	
	Men fuld nocht weine at thare prudens	
2716	Couth mak new wysdome, nore sciens,	52
	Na mak new wyt, that neuer had ben	
	Techit before our tyme and fene.	
	Quhen men makis bukis, traist werraly	
2720	Thai do bot opnis the erde newly;	56
	As lawboureris dois, teland thar land,	
	Quhilk lang before had ben Restand.	
	And nocht renewis, bot fyklyk corne	
2724	Thar cumys agane, as grew beforne.	60
	Sa dois maisteris, that sciens techis,	
	And clerkis, that to the puple prechis,	
	Our-seis thar bukis, and takis out fedis,	
2728	The word of god, quhilk faulys fedis.	64
	For man levis nocht al-anerly	
	Of fwde of breid, bot spretualy	

- The faul be fed with teching ay ;
- 2732 For rychtwy β man levis one the fay. 68
 Wyt, but cheryte, mak β s na sted,
 And faith, but gud deid, is bot ded.
 Quharfore men fuld do, as thai fay,
- [Fol. 37b.]
- 2736 That werk folow the word alway. 72
 Sa, be thar werk β s, men may see,
 That gud fruyt cumys ay of gude tre.
 Fore al mankind is knawin, I wys,
- 2740 Be froyt that of hym cumand Is. 76
MEn knawis quha levis her vyfly,
 Be al the gift β s of thar body,
 Thar luk, thar ferys, and thare paif β ,
- 2744 The wysdome blwmys in thare face, 80 The wise man is
 Thar hawing, and thare menteinyngne
 Settis thaim weill, in euer-ilk thinge ;
 In wysmanis face the wyt flwrys,
- 2748 The mouth schawis wysdome of the vy β , 84
 His lyppis honorys sciens ay,
 With mychty spech, full of gud fay ;
 The wysman venis he wantis ay wyt,
- 2752 Suppos he have Ineuch of It. 88
 And he louis al men that hym blamys,
 Swetly argowis, and nocht hym schamis.
 He lovis thaim weill, in al degreee,
- argues kindly,
and
- 2756 That correk β s hym in prewatee. 92
 He heris confaill radeily,
 And al with confail dois glaidly.
 He speris of wysdome euer, and wyt,
- 2760 And euer his ere rady tyll It. 96
 He settis his wordys ay wyfly,
 And haldis hym with gud cumpany.
 He gouernys euer with paciens,
- searches after
wisdom ;
- 2764 And euer is of fair eloquens. 100 is eloquent,
 Men knawis thaim be thar phisnomy,
 Quhar nocht apperis of felony,

	Nocht loud of lauchtyr amang men,	
jocose,	2768 Thar smylyng scantily may men ken.	104
	Bot syk a boord may quhilum fall,	
	That al men lauch, baith gret & small.	
[Fol. 38.]	He is euer dreydand fore the Ill,	
sober,	2772 He dois consaill, and levis his vyll,	108
	He is euer sobyr, but exces,	
	He is weil content of his riches.	
not covetous,	He is nocht our cowatice of gud,	
	2776 Deligat, na liccorus of his fud.	112
	Bot efter as It may gudly bee,	
	In sobyrnes fuetly takis hee.	
honours not men for their wealth,	He honoris na man for riches,	
	2780 For honore is nocht gevyne for claithis.	116
	Men lufys nocht for the gyrthis the wyne,	
	Na full men of thar cleithinge fyne.	
	Thai ar benyng, ful of paciens,	
hears gladly, speaks little,	2784 And takis thaim ay to thar defens;	120
	Thai here glaidly, and lytill spekis,	
	Laith for to crab and feldin wrekis.	
	With wykitnes, na subteltee,	
is no hypocrite,	2788 Na wrang wylis, nocht delys hee.	124
	Thar god thai dreid euer wnder aw,	
	And euer is redy to do the law.	
	To goddis seruice þai are ay boune	
	2792 In mydlyng way of deuocioune.	128
	Nocht our oft creip the cors one kneis,	
	For in this warld oft tyme men feis	
	Syndry folk syk manerys hald,	
	2796 That ypocrytis here are thai cald.	132
	Quharfor, tyll hald the mydlyng vay	
	Is best, as I hard wysmen say.	
	Wysmen luvis na scornnyng,	
	2800 Thai hait learis at our al thinge.	136
	Fore god scornys euer the scornouris,	
	And to wysmen dois ay honouris.	

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| | And fleichouris and fulys þai hate, | hates fools, |
| 2804 | Suppos thai be of gret eststate. | 140 |
| | Thai lufe na man, be day na nycht,
That menteinys vrang agan the rycht. | and wrong-doers, |
| | Thai mak na dissimelacioun, | |
| 2808 | Quhar cauf is of pwniscioune. | 144 [Fol. 38b.] |
| | Of budis na bewfertis by thai noct | |
| | To flok Justice out of thare thocht; | |
| | Thai have thare er euer to the rycht, | |
| 2812 | And euer thar mynd one god almycht. | 148 |
| | Thai defyr neuer na wrang conquest,
One vthire menys erd to byg thare nest. | covets not other
men's goods, |
| | Bot owthir the parteis thai content, | |
| 2816 | Or gouernys thaim be Jugment. | 152 |
| | Thai luf al men that are rycht-wyce,
Al thare delyt is in Justice. | |
| | Thai luf noct to mak of blak quhyt, | makes not black
white, |
| 2820 | Mak gud man Ill, na Ill man qwytt. | 156 |
| | Quhen euer thai deme, thai knew na face | |
| | Bot doys Justice, efter the eas. | |
| | Thai ruf thaim noct of done foly | |
| 2824 | Thai dyd in zouthed raklely. | 160 |
| | Na wanttis thaim noct of thar gud deid, | is not proud of
wrong, nor vain
of good deeds. |
| | Fore, and thai do, thai tyne thar meid, | |
| | Bot it war fampill for to gyff | |
| 2828 | Tyll vthir folk, weill fore to leif. | 164 |
| | The faith of god and law of man, | keeps the law, |
| | Full weill prent It in hart thai can, | |
| | As may suffice in generall, | |
| 2832 | Na wyt may comprehend al haill. | 168 |
| | Nocht our gret wordy, na our blait, | |
| | Bot mes rd ferand that esstat. | |
| | Wysmen gud hour in spekin bidis, | |
| 2836 | And takis thar tyme, quhen It betydis. | 172 |
| | Thar þa is þhai, thar nay is nay, | |
| | Thai wyl thaim weill, ore at thai say. | his yea is yea, |

- Thai wyll noch lightly mak a grant,
2840 Thai set thare wyt thar wyll to dant. 176
 Thai ar lordis of thar awn ewrage,
 And haldis thar lustis at serfage.
 Abwne thare Ire and thar mocioune
- he checks his anger,*
- 2844 Thai have hail domynacioune. 180
 With anys þha amend þu may
 þocht þow a thousand tymis say nay.
 Bot thai may noctt tyll domysday
- [Fol. 39.]
- and is full of charity,*
- 2848 Amend thar þhay thocht þai say nay. 184
 Thai ar full of petye and almouß deid,
 And helpis al pwre folk at neid.
 Thai ar ay reddy for to ken
- 2852 All sympill and wnletteryt men. 188
 Thai have ydill men abhomynable,
 And furtheris al men that are able
 To clergy craft or lawbourage,
- 2856 To wyne thar levynge in thar age. 192
 Fore gret tynsell thai move thaim nocht,
 Na fore gret vynyng changis thocht.
 Thai crab thaim nocht, na is nocht crouß,
- is not moved by loss or gain,*
- 2860 To ramp as lyone in thar houß. 196
 Thai pwnis nocht oure crully,
 Quhar thai have ourhand, ore maistry,
 Na tynis nocht thar wyt to fee
- 2864 The thing that may nocht mendyt bee. 200
 Wyfmen kepis reull in thar lufinge,
 Gud dyet, and gud gouernyng,
 Thai are patient in aduersytee,
- is moderate in all things,*
- 2868 That neuer man fal one thaim fee 204
 To chang thar chere, quhar euer thai wend.
 Thai tak in thank, at god wyl fend.
 Thocht a day strublyt be the are,
- 2872 Ane vthir after cumys faire. 208
 Quhill were, quhill better, as cumys the caß,
 Thai are ay content of goddis grace.
- takes things as they come,*

- The natur of this wold Daly
2876 Is euer changand continualy : 212
- Tharfor wysmen fuld tak in gre,
Thank god of thar aduerfytee,
And in gret welth thai fuld fare dreid,
does not wish for
reward in this
world,
- 2880 That welth be fend thaim for thar meid 216
Of sum gud verkis, at thai haf vrocht.
Was neuer gud deid done for nocht.
Quhen all gud is Rewardyt here [Fol. 39b.]
- 2884 The Joy of hevyne Is al in weire. 220
For prospertye perpetuall
Is takyne of dampnyng eternall.
Thai hald euer faloschip with thar feris,
- 2888 And plays thaim noct bot with thar peris. 224
For our hamly to folk lawly
Cauß diffiping comonly.
Mek and lauly in gudlynes
- 2892 And mekille wyll tholl in to sum caß. 228 is familiar with
Quhen vysmen beris thaim our lawly his equals only.
It is reput to gret foly.
Thai think and wyllis al gudlynes
- 2896 Quhilk in thar hart euer rutyt vas ; 232
With fair talking but velany
Hyd Ill spek gud of alkyne wy ;
Nocht lefull dafit bot delygent,
- 2900 And dedly hatis al neglygent. 236
Thai rich deland thar riches
Qahar vtheris rewis and euer has leß.
Quhai euer be large in almous deid,
- 2904 Sal euer habound and neuer haf neid ; 240 The liberal shall
Quha gredy is and fast haldand,
Thar fal na grace be folowand.
Wysmen with pwre has neuer debait,
2908 Na wyll neuer crab thaim air na lait ; Wise men do not
Bot fair and gudly with thaim spekis, debate with poor.
Kepis fra wrang and harmys vrekis.

They honour
churchmen.

They honour all
estates.

God makes all
men for labour.

Wise men are
merciful.

[Fol. 40.]

They keep their
loyalty, and love
God above all
things.

They flee the
world's vain-
glory.

They are much
occupied in pri-
vate prayer when
others sleep.

They value not
the world's
goods, except so
far as food and
clothing.

Wisdom will not
dwell with fro-
wardness.

Wise men con-
sider both past,
present, and
future.

To kirkmen do thai euer honore

2912 And ledis thaim in al fauore.

248

Thai ar ful of worship air *and lait*,

And dois honoure tyll al esstat;

All thing thai wyrk *with wyf confaill*,

2916 And al labour dois for awaill.

252

For god for lawbor al men mais,

And na thing in vaine ordand has;

Wysmen ar wylfull to do grace,

2920 & mercyeable in petwouf caſ.

256

Thai forgeif glaidly matalent,

And thai be foucht in gud entent,

Thai kep thar lawte but fenȝeing,

2924 And lufis thar god at our al thing,

260

Thai set al haill thar delygens

Fra warldis wyfdom and prudens.

And settis thar besynes al way,

2928 For hevynly Joy that leſtis ay

264

The vainglore of this varld thai flee,

Thai gyf na fors quhen euer thai dee.

Thai ar euer in facret vrifone,

2932 Hyd prayere, styll dewocioun;

268

The nycht quhen sum men venis thai sleep,

Thar obseruans to god thai kep,

Thai schrif þaim oft and takis pennans,

2936 Thocheſt few wyt of þar obseruans,

272

Thai fet nocht by this warldis gud,

Bot al may suffice for clai>this and fud,

Thai pris mar wyfdom & gudnes,

2940 Na al the gold that is or was,

276

Bot wyfdom enteris in na wy,

That frawart is and Ill wylly,

Na wyll nocht rest in cors that is

2944 Sugget to synis and to wyfis.

280

Wysmen consideris tymis thre,

That is, and was, and euer fal bee,

- And our-cumys malys *vertuifly*,
 2948 And diffponis al thing sobirly. 284
 Thar is na thing may thaim diffeuer,
 Fra cherytee that is with thaim euer.
 The well of visdome proprely,
 2952 Ys knaw and luf god soueranly,
 Tyll honor serf and kep biding,
 And hym to love atour al thing,
 And for his saik his werkis haill
 2956 Luf as he lufis in generall. 292
 Vyfdom proferis hym tyl al men,
 Bot ful few of vs can that ken,
 Thar for we fal It rew ful fare,
 2960 Quhen we are aild and ma na mare.
 Thir are the thewis in sum party,
 Quhilk vismen vfys comonly,
 For to goueren thar awn perfone,
 2964 As langand thar condiscioune. 300
BOT Sen It is *nacht* anerly
 Spedful that jongmen proprely
 Hawe knawlege of wys menis thewis,
 2968 Bot als of fulys, trumpouris, and schrewis, 304
 To hant the gud, and leif the Ill,
 To folk that has a gudly wyll ;
 Bot be fere takins men may knaw,
 2972 To gud ore Ill quhey at thai draw ;
 And thare ferys men may ken,
 Quha wys ar, quha vncunand men ;
 Baith be thar maneris, and having,
 2976 Speking, luking, and ganging, 312
 Thar manteinyng, and thar *contenans*,
 And wordis schawis thar ignorans ;
 For of al takins of foly,
 2980 That may be knawin proprely,
 In manis perfone be semblans,
 The principall is ignorans ;
- They cannot be separated from charity.
 The well of wisdom, what it is.
- If we neglect wisdom we [Fol. 40b.] shall rue it in age.
- Such are the virtues which wise men cultivate.
- But it is also good that young men should hear of fools, so as to beware of them.
- There are tokens by which men may judge of their companions
- Of all tokens the chief is ignorance.

Ignorance and
negligence love
not wisdom,

but listen to ill
advice readily.

They are quick
at claiming ac-
quaintance,

to give a sem-
blance of kindli-
[Fol. 41.]
ness to their be-
haviour.

They like not to
be taught,

but think those
who reprove
them their ene-
mies.

They hate no-
thing more than
wisdom.

They will take no
trouble after
truth.

If invited to a
good work they
sham sickness.

For ignorans and negligens,

2984 Ar ennemys till al sciens. 320

Wyt and resone thai diffspice,

And lufis na wyf dome one na vyf;

Thai here Ill consaill radely,

2988 And drawis thaim till Ill cumpany; 324

Thai can noct bere prospertyee,

Na warldis welth in na dugree;

Thar ar of sudan acquentans,

2992 And fair calland with gret plefans, 328

And sone wyll compt of Cusingage,

Thochn thai befor haf na knawlege;

And makis thaim fone for to be frend,

2996 To gar men vein at thai ar kinde. 332

Thai wald haf al thing at thai See,

And euer fais gyf me, gif me;

With mekil langag but mesure,

3000 Smyrkand one euery creature. 336

Thai cum noct glaidly quhar thai prech,

Thai fauor nan that will thaim tech;

Bot haldis thaim as thar enemy,

3004 At thaim reprevis of thar foly; 340

Al thar diffport and thar blychtneſſe

Is al in foly and glaikitneſſe;

Wysmen delitis thaim euer in wyt,

3008 And thai hate na thing mar na It; 344

The foly of fwlys thai had leuer here,

Na ga to preching of a frere;

Thai hait na thing mar bitterly,

3012 Na wysmen and gud cumpany; 348

For fuerncs thai wald neuer wyrk,

Thai cummyr noct our oft the kirk;

Quhen wysmen drawis thaim to gud verkis,

3016 Than ar thai sek ore thar hed werkis; 352

One mornys thai luf weill to slep,

To thrifand men thai tak no kep;

- Thar fludy and thar besynes,
 3020 Is al in plays and wantounes ;
 Thai set thaim neuer for gret honore,
 For lestand worship na valour ;
 Thai cum wncallyt to confaill,
 3024 And syne thai can na thing confaill ;
 Thai do but confail al thar deid
 That garris thaim fpwrn quhen thai fuld speid ;
 Quhar euer thai be thar is ay sturt,
 3028 Thar blyctnes Is vtherys tyll hurt ;
 At wantone plays thai spend þer gud,
 And mansueris goddis flesch, and blud ;
 Thai mak gret aithis for lytill thing,
 3032 Gret wouß and gret manafing ;
 Thai ar fa darf in thar entent,
 Thai dreid nocht goddis Jngment ;
 Thai rufß thaim self & prifß euer,
 3036 And vthir folk thai honor neuer ;
 Thai wyll men reddy scorn & knak,
 And mak anrow behynd thar bak ;
 Cutland and tratland in the toune,
 3040 Ay makand mermeracionne ;
 Thai borow rady and quitis nocht,
 And wald neuer pay the thing thai bocht ;
 Thai tak debait one lytil evyne,
 3044 For lytill querell and wnewyne ;
 For lytill cauß sone vraith or blycht,
 Thar by ma foly sonef kith ;
 Thai wyll nocht waind for smal valour,
 3048 To len an aith to thar nychtbour,
 Thai ar of hasty Jngment,
 And son schawis furcht al thar entent ;
 Thai fynd sone fautis to thar frend,
 3052 And fenžeis cauß to be vnkind ;
 Thar pur frendis thai vyl nocht ken,
 Bot clamys of kyne to mychte men ;
- 356 They are delighted in wantonness.
 360 They come uninvited to council, but have nothing to advise.
 364 They delight in doing harm.
 368 They are ready to take oaths on slight occasion.
 [Fol. 41b.]
 372 They are so bold they fear not God, they are proud of themselves, and scorn others.
 376 They borrow and huy, but care not to pay.
 380 They quarrel readily ;
 384 are hasty in judgment ;
 given to fault-finding.
 388 They ignore their poor friends, but claim kin with the great.

- That thai trow may thaim mend or beit,
 3056 And of vtherys na thing thai leit ; 392
 And quhen thai cum to gret honore,
 Of helynes thai paſſ mesour ;
 Nyſſ proud and wangloriouſſ,
 3060 And conterfyttis hie gratiouſſ ; 396
 They desire to
keep great state,
that men may
think them wise.
- Thai wald have stat & gret seruice,
 To gar men veyn at þai ar vyſſ ;
 Thai can weill craif quha ocht thaim aw,
 3064 Bot thai wyll neuer byd the law ; 400
 Thai ar vncunand in thar play,
 And wald be forborn alway,
 Gif ony man be mar thrifty
 3068 Na thai, thai haf hyme at enwy, 404
 Of vthiris menis feaith thai ar ay fayn,
 And leif to fean an vthir in payne.
 Thai geif one strangers and thai keik,
 3072 And al thar faltis one thaim thai feik, 408
 Thai wen thare self visest of all,
 And vthir folk fulys thai call ;
 Thai ar loudest of all the houſſ,
 3076 Gret, vordy, claiterand and maift crouſſ, 412
 Thai ar darf and full of fellony,
 Quhar thai have ourhand or maiftry ;
 Of pure folk haf thai na petee,
 3080 Bot scornis thaim quhar thai thaim See, 416
 With woid wordis ful of vanitee,
 And nyſſ bourdis but honeftee.
 Tyll vthir men faultis thai find,
- They are envious
of those more
thrifty than
themselves, and
rejoice at others'
ill.
- [Fol. 42.]
- They think them-
selves wiser than
others.
- They are bold
where they get
the upperhand.
- They have no
pity.
- They are blind
to their own
faults.
- They are push-
ing,
presumptuous,
wafering,
- That thai lak al menys gouernans,
 3084 And in thar faultis thai ar blind, 420
 Wenand throw that thaim ſelf to vans,
 Thai ar presumptus, ful of boſt,
 3088 And euermar lyinnift in the oft, 424
 Thai can noct wonen quhen thai ar veill,
 Bot tolter and turnand as a quheill.

- Thai sper noct̄ quhat men fais of thaim,
 3092 Quheſer lak or honor, loſ or ſcham,
 Thai wyll noct̄ tak in hart & fee
 How god pwniff̄ Iniquitee,
 And how that forow cumys for fyne,
 3096 And mekle wraik for vykit vyne,
 Na thai dreid noct̄ before the Ill,
 Or the mifforiton fal thaim tyll.
 Thai caſt na perell of before,
 3100 Na lufys na forſicht corn na store.
 Thai are euer raklef̄ in thar deid,
 And falȝeis euer thar frend at neid.
 Thai ill all feruandis to thar lord,
 3104 And reddy ay to mak discord.
 Thai wald be proud & deligat,
 Thōcht thai the payment na thing vat.
 Ffaſer and mothir thai vill disples,
 3108 Bot thai be proud and weil at es.
 Thai do thare dedis al in haift,
 And mekle trawell makis in vaift.
 Thai ar rycht fyrye our the laif,
 3112 Quhar thai may ony maiftry have.
 All wrangvyf̄ cauf̄ radely
 Thai wyll manteine throw thare maiftere,
 Thai fet noct̄ by quha thai disples,
 3116 And warcis god of thar mail-es,
 With wnreſt baith at mes and met,
 With wowis aithis and crakis gret.
 Thōcht thai be blunt of eloquens,
 3120 Thar word is fyrist in awdiens,
 With fenȝeand falſat ay reddy,
 To draw a fnek rycht subtely ;
 Of al men thai wyll ſpekan bee,
 3124 Qwhar thai Syt in that maieftee,
 Thai wyll correk al gouernowris,
 All lordis and thar confalouris,
- 428
- They will not regard God's judgments, nor
- 432 how wickedness is punished.
- 436
- They think not of the future.
- 440
- They are reck-less, and not to be trusted,
- 444
- [Fol. 42b.]
disregard their parents.
- 448
- They are hasty, and hottempered.
- 452
- They care not whom they dis-please.
- 456
- Though blunt, they are the first to speak.
- 460
- They speak freely of everybody.
- They will pre-ſume to correct their superiors.

- And euer raprewand lordis latis,
 3128 Wenand thai couth amend al estatis. 464
 Bot wyȝ; wyll haf al thar wyne,
 Quhilk thai *conquest with scham and fyne*,
 For haly vryt fais futhfaſtly,
 3132 That wysdome aire is to foly. 468
 For atte laſt thai failȝe all,
 Thar foly takis a ſudand fall,
 Quhen thai wen to ſtand althir beſt,
 3136 Thar fortone failȝeis as tempeſt. 472
 Thir ar the thewis in party,
 Quilkis fullis oyȝ comonly,
 Quhay lovis honor fuld thaim vmbeschew,
 3140 Be war and wyȝ, and kep ȝow now. 476
 Explicit the foly of fulys, and the
 thewis of wysmen.
 And fyne here after folowis þe confail and teiching
 3144 at the vyȝ man gaif his fone. 480

(9.) [CONSAIL AND TEICHING AT THE VYS
 MAN GAIF HIS SONE.]

[Fol. 43.]
 Whoso takes
 pleasure in
 knowing good,

should seek good
 company.

Therefore I ad-
 vice you to seek
 good com-
 panions.
 Men are known
 by their com-
 panions.

- Q**whay takis Plefans In ȝouthage,
 Off gud and Ill to have knawleg,
 And to know reſone be foly,
 3148 Suld draw hym to gud cumpaſy; 4
 Gud cumpaſy, gud men makis,
 And of the Ill oft men ill takis.
 Thus confail I quhat euer þow do,
 3152 Gud cumpaſy thow draw euer to, 8
 Fore be thar cumpaſy men may knaw,
 To gud or Ill quhethir at thai draw,
 Fore fyk inclynacione and fyk wyll,
 3156 Syk cumpaſy euer drawis tyll, 12

- With gud men ay men may gud here,
And euery day sum vertw lere,
And with Ill men gif that þu beis,
3160 How fuld þu leir bot al þow feis,
Fore of the gud the gud ay cumys,
And of the Ill oft tyme Ill sumys :
Sen god hafþ gevyne ws in fre vyll,
3164 To ches the gud, and leif the ill.
Than may þow knaw the futhfaſtnes,
Gyf þow inclynit be to gudnes,
þu fal perſaif be thin awn wyll,
3168 Quheþer mar þow fauoris gud ore Ill,
Quheþer men of lychtnes or godlyk,
Syk as þow lufis fyk art þow lyk.
Thus our al thing fyrfst confaill I,
3172 Thow draw the to gud cumpany,
For al suppos wnwyf þow bee,
ȝit fal þow mend in al degré,
And with Ill folk men vynis ay blam,
3176 And euer the end is ded or scham.
The next poynt fyne mon be meknes,
Quhilk growand is of the way of grace,
And set thi hart weill till endure,
3180 Fore ill endurand may noct lang dur :
Till gud paciens gud grace is send,
Quhen angry hart fwn takis an end ;
Strow nocth thi ftra in flytaris fyre,
3184 For byrnand wordis bettes Ire,
And quhay weill tholis al oureumys,
Befor wykit men wysmen dwm Is,
And quhay fa will hyme lychtly vreith,
3188 It bringis men in a byrnand breith,
Syne in that breth oft tyme thai brew,
Quhilk efterwart ful fare thai rew.
Syne mone thow think one verytee,
3192 Gyf euer þow wald at honore bee,
- From good men
you learn virtue,

but with ill men
you must learn
what you see.
- 16 20 24 28 32 36 40 44 48
- As God has given
us freewill,

so you will be-
come such as
those to whom
you incline.
- [Fol. 43b.]
Then pursue
mekness and
patiencee.
- Have no dealings
with the quarrel-
some.
- Whoso is lightly
angry often after-
wards has to rue
it.
- Truthfulness
must be your
next thought.

Lie not;

But be kind of speech.
Have good men for your friends,

for other friends will blacken your fame.

Never be sullied with a lie;

for the injury it inflicts on your character is never to be remedied; for good men will shun you.

A liar would be better dead.

Such a man is never loved.

Untruth has made many lose
[Fol. 44.] both life and land.

If you would have good men value you, be not a backbitter. Speak evil of none.

	That euer thi word be trew & traift, And to al men thi hart stedfaſt, That þow be neuer leif to lee,	
3196	Na Ill of anſwere for to bee, Bot fuet of ſpech til al mankynd, And hald al gud man to thi freind, And with na trwmpouris haf na daill,	52
3200	Na with thaim cald fals in ſpeciall, Fore all ſuppos þow ferf na blame, His falofchip fal blek thi fame. And als þu kep the our al thinge,	56
3204	þow be neuer taynt with a leifinge; For leſing is fa foul a ſmyt, That quhay fa euer be taynt with It, It ſmytis fa fare It partis neuer,	60
3208	And fra al gud men garris thaim feuer. Quhay euer of lear beris the name, Thai fet noct comonly by ſchame, And fra the ſchame be paſſit thar hed,	64
3212	Than war thaim fare better be ded; Thar lyf fuld lytill be alowyt, Quhen thai ar nothir louit na trowyt. Syne of thi hand þow fykir bee,	68
3216	That neuer man may preif one the A taynt of falſat of his gud, þow art Wndone, and euer þow dud, For wnlawte of tung & handle,	72
3220	Garris mony ane loſ baith the lyf and land; And al ſuppos thai get lyf grace, ȝit have thai ſcham in euery place, Fra pruf and wytnes baith vnable,	76
3224	And fra al office honorable. And gif þow wyll gud men the price, Be neuer bakbytar one na wyf, Of nakyne perfone Ill þow ſpek,	80
3228	For that is bot a vyvys vrek,	84

- Quhat may It gud the thar mysleid,
Traift noct̄ for thi þow better speid,
For wysmen fais secret Inwy,
3232 Makis mony enwyous wnthrifft,
Thai displeſ god & vynis thaim fed,
And bringis men spretualy to ded.
And serve thi maifter weil at poynt,
3236 And luk þow failȝe hym in no poynt,
And luf weil al thing that he louis,
And commend noct̄ at he reprwys.
Be noct̄ to hym contraryouſ,
3240 Spek gud of hym quhat euer he dois ;
Kep weil his gudis and his prophet,
Na lak hym noct̄ of his delyt,
Na thing that he in plesans tais,
3244 Bot mak of al thing that he mais,
þow may noct̄ pleſ hym to rapruf,
Gyf euer thow thinkis to wyne his luf,
Schaip noct̄ to be his medefynere,
3248 To lak the met he lufis dere ;
Na hald hym noct̄ in argument,
To thraw his wyll to thin entent.
Quhen ony thing he chargis the
3252 Say noct̄, “ I wat It wyll noct̄ bee ; ”
Bot þow wyſt weil þow fuld noct̄ fay,
Bot do thi det eum as It may.
Na gang noct̄ fra hym murmurand,
3256 Quhen he the chargis his erand,
Na tholl na man spek of hym Ill,
Bot euer conforme thee to his vyll ;
Tell noct̄ all tratlingis at þow heris,
3260 Tell hym the futhe quhen he inqueris :
Be noct̄ our ryatas na erous,
Bot mek and lawly in his hous :
Schaip noct̄ al faltis for to mend,
3264 Tak noct̄ in Ill for to be kend,
- For envy causes envy.
- 88
- Serve well thy master ;
- 92
- commend no-
thing which he
reproves ;
- 96 speak good of
him,
and give heed to
his property.
- 100 Approve of what
he chooses.
- Do not thwart
his wishes ;
- 104
- nor tease him
with arguments ;
- 108 nor say when he
charges thee
with any com-
mission, that it
will not be done.
- 112 Go not about thy
duty in a mur-
muring way.
- Let no man
speak evil of thy
master ;
[Fol. 44b.]
- repeat not all
tales you hear.
- 116 Tell him always
the truth.
- 120 Don't try to cor-
rect everybody's
faults.

Be not angry in company.

Quarrel not, except for great cause.

Seek good men's favour.

If you be highly born, scorn not the poor.

Be not wasteful.

Speak fair, and take care of what you have.

Love not thy possessions above God and honour.

Be not slothful.

Break not thy word.

[Fol. 45.]

It brings a man a bad name.

Honour is a delicate possession.

Fore fely barnis are eith to leire,
And wykyt wyll na teiching here ;
Be nocth yrus in cumpany,

3268 In thi defalt dipes na wy : 124

But grett profyt schaip nocth to pleid,
Na but gret cauf^b wyne the na feid.
Be nocth of gud deid done vnkind,

3272 And hald al gud man to thi frend : 128

Hald the in al gud manys grace,
And to thi frendis kep thi kyndnes^b,
And gyf þow may na better do,

3276 Fair suet langag gyf thaim to ; 132

And be þow neuer fa hely born,
Dryve neuer pwre na riche to scorne,
It grevis god, and feid the makis,

3280 And oft god lufis at men here lakis : 136

Be of faire chere, and of faire effere,
Be nocth leful to waift thi gere,
Bot quhar þow may sum profet have,

3284 It is far better hald na craif, 140

And gyf faire langage in asking,
Fair answer and kep weil thi thinge ;
Luf nocth fa peny corn na store,

3288 Bot god and honore be ay before : 144

Be befy euer and luf na flueth,
Be nocth our lefull of thi treuth ;
For brokin faith oft brekis luf,

3292 And after folowis gret reprüf : 148

Suppos for lytill thing It bee,
ȝit wyll men say he is leif to lee,
And lytyll forsalt raf^b blame,

3296 And bringis aman sone in Ill name, 152

A man is sone brocht in to felandyr,
For manis honore is ful tendyr.
Gyff þow in court be raparand,

3300 Hals glaidly be fair farand ; 156

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| | Here al men fay and lytill spek,
Thocht þow have cauß̄ bot noct̄ to vrek,
Fore quhen þow boſt̄ is to mak venginge, | Hear all and say
nothing. |
| 3304 | þow warnis thi faa of thin etlyng ;
Bot lat hyme vyt he has the wyt,
For gentill hund gynnis or he byt.
For defyans of myſtraifing, | 160 |
| 3308 | In weire fuld ga be for al thing.
Be noct̄ lefull to hicht na grant,
Bot fet thi wyt thi wyll to dant,
And quhen þow grantis kep veil thi hecht, | 164
Be not ready in
making promises, |
| 3312 | And couer neuer thi hecht with flycht ;
For lawte wald neuer fenȝhed bee,
Na fek hyrnis in na degree,
For atte last lawte is kend, | 168
but when you
have promised,
keep your word. |
| 3316 | And falſat fal neuer mak fare end.
For god is grund of verytee,
And feindis are faſteris of falſatee.
Crab noct̄ lychtly for lytill thing, | 172
Truth wins in the
end. |
| 3320 | Na be noct̄ dangerous of met dichting ;
Na couet noct̄ our hie to fyf,
For diffiping oft folowis It ;
Here goddis feruice quhen þu may, | 176
God is the founda-
tion of truth,
and fiends are
fathers of lies. |
| 3324 | And love thi god onis one the day,
For mekle grace folowis the meſt̄,
And riches cumys throw godis bleſs.
Luf noct̄ ragine na rebaldry, | 180
Covet not high
place. |
| 3328 | Na our loud lauchtyr na ladry,
For maner makis man of valour,
And bringis aman to gret honor.
Tak not delyt in morne flepinge, | 184
Go to God's ser-
vice when you
may. |
| 3332 | Wntymous eting na drynkynge,
Fauore na dyſe, na drunkynnes,
Hald euer thi hart one gudlynes,
And euer be maſt̄yr of thi twnge, | 188
Riches come from
God. |
| 3336 | And wyne gud nam quhil þu art jonge. | [Fol. 45b.] |
| | | Keep well thy
tongue. |
| | | 192 |

A man without
reason is worse
than blind.

& luk at resone ay the bind,
Fore man but resone is ver na blind.
Be noct̄ our changable in thi thoc̄ht,

- 3340 That word and deid contrary noct̄, 196
Repref na folk þocht thai be Ill,
Behald thi self, and hald the styll;
Think one the har is in thi nek,

Be eareful of
whom you speak,
and when, and
where.

- 3344 And be weil war quhome of þu spek, 200
Quhen and quhar to quhome & quhy,
And gar thine awne ene be thi spye.

Follow good
qualities.

- 3348 Conforme the to gud thewis ay, 204
As tyme raqueris euery day.
Al thing that hinder may or scaith,
Forber It þocht thi hart be layth.

Trust not all
counsel.

- 3352 Traift noct̄ al men that eonfalis the
Consider fyrst quharfor It bee. 208

Be on thy guard
against sudden
acquaintance;
heed not their
flattery.

- Be war with fudane aequantans,
With fleiching pride and Ignorans,
Thow knawis thi self thoc̄ht men the Ruß,

Keep your own
secrets;

- 3356 Far better than the rufare dois. 212

for a friend may
become a foe.

- Thi seeret eonfail neuer wndo,
Bot neid or fors dryv the thar to,

Men are ill to
know,

- For þow may tell It tyll a frend,

and may deceive
you.

- 3360 Quhilk eftyr may be vnkend, 216

Strive not with
any community
or with church-
men.

[Fol. 46.]
Be not fault-
finding,

- And ehang his loue, and be thi fa,
þow art vnfikir quhen It is fwa;

- For findry folk ar Ill to ken,

- 3364 And fencis frenschip oft with men, 220

- And quhen thai wat thar seeretis all,
Thai may the gif a ternyt fall.

- At lell men ask thi eonfall ay,

- 3368 To sykir leich thi wound þu lay. 224

- Strif noct̄ agains a comynite,

- Na with kirkmen in na degre.

- Be noct̄ redy to raif A blame,

- 3372 Heil at þow may al menis feham ; 228

- Be nocht blycht of na manis fall,
Bot pray to god to comfort all ;
Be blycht and besy, quyk, & fmert,
- 3376 And lat na langour throw thi hart,
Bot fle langour and ydilnes,
Quhilkis bringis diffpar & hevynes.
Tak ay betwen diffport and play,
- 3380 Put langour and diffpar away.
Tak nocht in hart aduersytee,
Na prid the nocht in prospertyee ;
Bot do weil, and na demyng dreid,
- 3384 And to the best men ay tak hed.
The consaill of thi traitf frendis,
Diffpis nocht that weill levand Is,
Bot mend thi frendis of thi riches,
- 3388 Thi gudis fal grow and neuer be les.
And disples thaim nocht at þow may,
Bot luf thaim and thaim honor ay.
Spousis nocht, and þow wyll me trow,
- 3392 Bot þow wyt weil quhar, quhy & how ;
And quhen þow spousis kep weil thi hand,
Thai thrif nocht weil at brekis that band ;
Bot quhen a wyf þow takis for the,
- 3396 Se fyrst of gud burgione scho bee :
Gud moþer-child gud we presume,
Sa scho be kepyt fra Ill eustume ;
Fra Ill rapar and ill cumpany,
- 3400 Na Ill ensampill fe hir by.
Tak na byrding, bot þow may bere,
Nother ane in tyme of peþ na were :
And gif þow thinkis to be wyþ,
- 3404 Set neuer thi hart one cowatice ;
For cowatice is rut of al evill,
And makis obediens to the deuill.
Thai ar bot feruandis to thar gud,
- 3408 And fugettis for thar lyvis fud,
- 232 nor idle, for that
brings despond-
ency.
- 236 Be not downcast
in misfortune,
nor proud in
prosperity.
- 240 Do well, and
dread not judg-
ment.
- 244
- 248 Marry not with-
out great
thought.
- Be faithful to thy
marriage.
- 252 See that thy wife
be of a good
family.
The child of a
good mother will
be good, if she
be kept from bad
example.
- 256 Undertake no
burden beyond
thy strength.
- 260
- Be not covetous.
- 264

[Fol. 46b]
Covetous men
will be con-
demned.

Fret not against
fortune.

Thank God even
in poverty.

Serve him and
thou shalt not
want.

Wrong winning
never did good
to any.

Desire no office
where the law is
not regarded,

nor under a de-
spotic prince.

Use fair language
to all ;
harsh words
breed ill love.

Guard thy
tongue, for in it
is life and death.

Those who steal
are not the only
thieves ;

but those who
would steal if
they could.

It is theft not to
restore what you
find.

Thai ar eondampnit al and sum,
And in tyll hevyn fal neuer cum.
Wary noct̄ god for thi mifehans,

3412 Thi misdeid askis revengans, 268

Na wyt noct̄ fortone thoc̄t þow bee
Miffortwnit that misgouernys the :

Thank god and love hym our al thinge,

3416 And put in hymē thi eonfortinge, 272

And thank hymē thoc̄t thi gud be feant,
And serve hymē, and þow fal noct̄ wante ;
Na defyr neuer wrang vynynge,

3420 For It fal profet the na thinge ; 276

For wrang vyninge the vynnar to
Dyd neuer gud na neuer fal do ;
Defyr neuer kepinge of Justice,

3424 In land quhar na law kepyt Is, 280

Na seruice office na maiftry,
Wndyr princis that levis by tyranny.
Quhay vyfly virkis with confail,

3428 Is worthi till have gouernall ; 284

For wnwysmen in alkyn fted,
Is cald ane ymage of the ded.

Oyß fare langage in alkyne thinge,

3432 Harſk wordis generys myflovinge, 288

And reul thi Word quhill þow art ȝonge,

For lyf and ded lyis in thi twnge :

And kep thi hart ay elen of fyne,

3436 Fra al defyr of vrangy়ৰ wyne, 292

For as belangand Payne and meid,
The wyll Is reput for the deid ;

For stelaris only thevis are noct̄,

3440 Bot als at wald stell and thai moeht, 296

Thus is man theif als weil but dreid,
For his disfir as for his deid,

And quha restorys noct̄ fundyne thinge,

3444 He is a theif for his helinge ; 300

- And he It hyd, and heil, and hald ;
 He is a theif rycht as he stald.
 And rycht sa is It of vthir thing ;
- 3448 Thai are art and part fore confelingie.
 Thar is ful few fulys in the land
 A bag of gold gyf at thai fand,
 And fyne of It hard na speringe,
- 3452 In kirk na market na fore cursing ;
 Suppos thai wyft It wytterly,
 Quhai fuld that gold aw werraly,
 That thai wald gar in market cry,
- 3456 To sper quhay tynt It opinly,
 And gyf thar come na man clamand,
 Wald put It in the Justice hand,
 To cry in marketis thre ore foure,
- 3460 Quhyll shire and day war paslit our,
 And fyne gyf nane mycht fundinge bee,
 To clame that gold in na degré,
 To deill It to the pure petaill,
- 3464 Tyll almoush houſh ore hofpetail,
 I wald sey and I kend hym than,
 He mycht be eald a rycht-wyſh man ;
 And quha dois noct̄ in this degré,
- 3468 Be law a theif may callyt bee ;
 For thus the law fais in latin,
 Quhai vnderſtandis noct̄ sper may fyne,
 Quod qui inuentum non reddit,
- 3472 De facto furtum committit.
 Fle axeſh in al kind of thinge,
 And rew noct̄ ſchamful techinge ;
 Lat noct̄ lichtly of a lytill fa,
- 3476 For gret men war defauit ſwa ;
 For throw diſpifinge of lytill feid,
 Mony gret man Is brocht to ded ;
 Forſe a perell ore It eum,
- 3480 For sudane eaſh is ay vylſum ;
- 304 [Fol. 47.]
- There are few
fools who, if they
found a bag of
gold,
and heard no in-
quiry about it,
- 308
- would cry it in
the market
- 312
- for a year and a
day, and if no
owner were
found,
- would give it to
the poor.
- 320
- Such a man I
should call up-
right.
- 324
- The Law says
concealment ^{is}
de facto theft.
- 328
- 332 Many great men
have fallen from
despising little
offences.
- Foresee danger
before it comes.
- 336

Boast not, nor be
vain glorious.

[Fol. 47b.]
When you have
the upperhand,

repay courtesy
with kindness.

Be steadfast in
thy right.

Truth may bend,
but not break.

There is a time
for all things;
would men but
take heed.
Of two ways
choose the sure,
and let the in-
secure alone.

Let others test
new friends.
Help the poor.

Little gifts earn
much love.

Flee crabbed
men and greedy,

and gluttons.

- And lichtlear hurtis that is fore sen,
Na wnprowyfytly cumyne had ben ;
Rufß nocht thi self, na loif, na lak,
3484 Na want, na wanglore to the tak : 340
Strik nocht ay furtht thi fellony,
Q whar þow has our hand ore maiftry,
And namly tyll wnkawin men,
3488 It may be quit þow wat nocht quhen. 344
Love and reward fore curtafy,
Eftyr thi powar thankfully ;
Do honore tyll al honorable,
3492 In rychtwyse cauß be nocht changable ; 348
Be stark and stedfast in thi rycht,
For lawte brekis nocht for no mycht,
And suppos for a tyme It bow,
3496 It fall recouer I dare la wow ; 352
Al thing has tyme wald men tak heid,
Quhai dois nocht fwa the were fal sped ;
And quhen tway ways hapnis the
3500 Tak fykyr and lat wnfykir bee, 356
And lipin nocht in a new cumyne gest,
Lat vthire hyme pruf ore þow hyme traist ;
And help all power at thi powar,
3504 For godis faik do thaim no dere ; 360
Gyf þaim gud wyll and furthiringe,
And quhen þow may sum confortinge ;
And gyf rewardis fore thi behuf,
3508 Fore lytill gift drawis mekil luf ; 364
With crabyt men hald na cumpany,
Na falow the nocht with our gredy,
Na with our stile men, na our sture ;
3512 Na nan that mankyt is be natur ; 368
Na with glutone of pasinge fud,
Na nan that lewys one Ill wone gud ;
Be weill wyllyt in thin office,
3516 For heritage is na feruice ; 372

- Lak *nocht* quhar þow has louit mekle,
Fore men wyll say þow art our fekle ;
Be of few wordis in cumpany,
- 3520 Gret spech is takin of foly ;
Su[e]re neuer bot þow compellyt bee,
For leif to fuere is leif to lee ;
Bere na wytnes bot þow be cald.
- 3524 Quhat is he worth na tunge can hald ?
As lekand wesshell haldis no thinge,
Sa opin tung has na traistinge ;
Bere þow wytnes but somondynge,
- 3528 þow may be set fra wytnesfinge,
And gyf þow ony cunnand mak,
Se ay gud wytnes at þow tak ;
Lef *nocht* a gud place gyf þow bee,
- 3532 Fore hecht at may be maid to the ;
Ill neuer na feruand to thar lord,
He fal the neuer luf the better ford ;
Fore he wyll traist it is leisinge,
- 3536 For enwy, hattrent, ore flechinge :
Be *nocht* lefull to mak debatis ,
Fore comone tulzouris al men hatis ;
Traist *nocht* thine honore in a fulle,
- 3540 Na weng *nocht* quhil thi blud be eule ;
Fra fulys ferrys and thar havinge
þow kep the weil at our al thinge ;
Fore men are prewyt be thar wertewȝ,
- 3544 As goldimyth gold in furnas doiȝ ;
Wysmen of fulys has ryȝt knawlege,
As in a meroure thar wysage ;
Consent neuer to trefone nore trane,
- 3548 Be neuer blycht of nan vtheris Payne :
Gar thi gud deid lof thi persone :
Al riches pasȝ gud renoune ;
Prefȝ neuer to batail na to feicht,
- 3552 Bot þow be thret throw princis¹ micht ;

Speak little in company.

376

Bear no witness except when called upon.

380

[Fol. 48.]

An open tongue is like a leaky vessel.

384

If you make a bargain, have good witness.

Leave not a good master.

388

Blame no servant to his master.

He will think it false.

392

All men hate talebearers.

396 Take no vengeance except in cool blood.

Men are tried by their virtues as gold in the fire.

400 Wise men are ware of fools.

404 Rejoice not at another's pain.

Good renown is above wealth.

408

¹ In margin.

Strive not with a fool.

Covet not that which belongs to another.

It engenders feud.

Chastise children when young.

[Fol. 48b.]

For want of correction children oft turn out badly.

Their parents will be condemned.

Read Scriptures.

Keep the commandments.

Forget not your end,

and that you must give account.

Trust not in dreams or witchcraft.

Confess to the priest.

- Tak na debait with full na ftryve,
That fore a word wyll ware his lyve ;
A levand manys benefyce,
- 3556 His lyf, his land, ore his office, 412
His wyf, his dochttir, na his seruand,
Na our his hed to take his land,
Defyr noct fore It generys fed,
- 3560 And oft tymis efter folowis ded. 416
Chaftee thi childyr quhil þow may,
þow fal compt for thar deid a day ;
For bettir is opine chastiment,
- 3564 Na luf that is hid in thin entent ; 420
For fault of frendis chaiftsinge,
Garris barnis oft mak ill endinge ;
Than fal thar frendis ful dere by
- 3568 That wald thaim noct be tyme chafty : 424
And oft tymis garris thaim have dreid
Be dampnyt for thar barnis deid ;
Reid oft and here worthi scriptouris,
- 3572 And folow teichinge of doctouris ; 428
And our al thinge þow be neuer Irke,
To kep the mandments of the kirk ;
And euer haf mynd of thingis three,
- 3576 That is, and was, and euer fal bee ; 432
And als forþet noct thyne endinge,
Quhar þow fal ga, and wat na thinge,
And how þow mone gyf compt of all
- 3580 Thi dedis heir baith gret and small ; 436
And owthir thow fal have hevynis meid,
Ore dampnyt fore thine awne misdeid.
Trow noct in dremys nor focery,
- 3584 Na wicherraftis, na charmery ; 440
Gyf þow has ony foleis done,
Schaw to the preft, and mend It soune ;
And ly noct lange in dedly syne,
- 3588 Na grace folowis quha lyis thar In ; 444

- Bot schrif the oft and tak penans, Oft do penance.
 Lat few wyt of thin obseruans ;
 Amend in tyme al thi misdeid,
 Amend in time.
- 3592 Pow fal haf grace to better sped ; 448
 Quhen þow thi self accusð heir,
 The fend of the has na powere ;
 The till accusð one domisday,
- 3596 Than may þow frely paþ thi way, 452
 Wnaecusyt befor the kinge,
 Tyll lestand Joy with out endinge ;
 Al thus the wysman taucht his sone,
- 3600 And bad hym at It fuld be done. 456 These are the
 wise man's
 lessons.

Explicit, &c., &c.

(10.) THE THEWIS OFF GUDWOMEN. [Fol. 49.]

- T**HE gud wyf schawis, fore best fcho can,
Thuhilkis ar thewis of gud women ; The good wife
 shows how wo-
 men are held
 dear.
- Quhilkis gar women be haldin deir,
- 3604 And pouer women princiis peir ; 4
 With sum Ill maneris and thewis,
 That folowis ful women & schrewis.
 As to the first, men fuld confidyr
- 3608 That womenis honore is tendyr & flydder, 8 Women's honour
 And raithar brekis be mekil thinge,
 As farest rofð takis soneft faidinge.
 A woman fuld ay have radour
- 3612 Of thinge that gref mycht her honoure ;
 Ful of piete, and humylitee,
 And lytill of langage for to bee,
 Nocht loud of lange, na lauchtyr crouß,
- 3616 And euer doand gud in her houß : 16 always doing
 good,
 Nocht oyß na tratlynge in the toune,
 Na with no jonge men rouk na roune ; not gossiping,

	Weill of bir smylinge simpyll and coy,	
not proud nor assuming.	3620 With feneand fair noct mak our moy.	20
	Nocht nyþ, proud, na our deligat,	
Be respectful,	Na contyrft noct our hie esftait;	
and obedient;	Fauore na dedis of dishonore,	
not outrageous in dress,	3624 Kep worschip tyll al creatoure;	24
	Be noct lefull tratlyngis to here,	
to make others envious,	Nore to reherþ quhai wald thaim speir.	
not to dress for show,	Tyll hir frendis obeyent bee,	
lest she be deemed a light woman.	3628 In gudly thingis that may supple;	28
	Nocht outragouþ in hire cleithinge,	
[Fol. 49b.]	Bot plane maner and gudly thing.	
There are proper times for women to show themselves,	Nocht our costlyk, na sumptewouþ,	
but it should be done with modesty.	3632 To mak vthir at hire Inwyouþ;	32
	Na couet noct cleithing mar deir	
God honours lowliness.	Na be resone fuld hir effeir;	
After pride comes shame.	And þoche sche be cled honestly,	
	3636 Desyr noct to be sen forthi.	36
	Quhen sche is proud to schaw her than	
	Is takin of a licht woman;	
	Bot quhen It suld be resone bee,	
	3640 Tyll schaw hir thane is honestee,	40
	With fuet hamly round contenans,	
	Nocht our fer pref hire till awans.	
	To schaw hire proud, at men may see,	
	3644 Is pryd, wanglore, and vanite.	44
	Bot euer with dreid and schamfulnes	
	Scho fuld draw to the lawest place,	
	And erare lawar place to tak,	
	3648 Na fra her place be put abak;	48
	God dois honore to lawlynes,	
	Quhen prid is punyf in al place,	
	Quhilk in women is maist to blame,	
	3652 For esy whole oft folowis schame.	52
	Nocht than thai fuld be honest ay,	
	Efter thar stat euerilk day;	

- Fore God *commendis* honestee,
 3656 Quhilk of al gud is best of three,
 And after honore cummys profyt,
 And of al gud leift is delyt.
 Gud profytable is ane of three,
 3660 And it be *Refone* takin bee ;
 Bot quhen thai tak It our mefour,
 Thai turne in wyf and in arroure.
 Kep thaim fra delyt nocth walable,
- 3664 And fra al deid dihonorale ;
 Bot nocth fra deid al anerly,
 Bot fra al thinge that is Il lykly.
 Fle ill folk and suffepekit place,
- 3668 Gret lak folowis Il lyklynnes.
 Fore euer defamyt cumpany
 Defadis the honor of al wy ;
 Dant nocth women our wantonly,
- 3672 Na feid þaim nocth our delygatly ;
 Fore metis and drinkis delycyus
 Caufß lichory : men fais thus.
 Na giftis gyf, na drowreis craif,
- 3676 Na bill of amouris to resaif,
 Be nocth our syre till hir frendis,
 Botmek and lawly quhar sche lendis.
 Oyß noght flityng, flurt, na fryf,
- 3680 Preß nocth to greif man, na wyf ;
 In thrift fryf ay with thi nychtbouré,
 Quha best can thryf but dihonor.
 Preß nocth in feist to syt our hie,
- 3684 Na euer ilk day lyk proud to bee ;
 Na our elen wesching onne verk dais,
 Na þhit onne werk dais oyß na plays.
 Flam nocth the flouris at wyll faid,
- 3688 To mend hir mak at god has maid,
 With payntyng wattrys to gar her schen :
 One haly dais hir hyd hald elen :
- Of those good qualities honesty is first.
- Profit should be taken in reason.
- 60
- 64 Keep women from all dis-honourable deeds,
- from all suspect-ed places.
- 68 Bad company damages cha-racter.
- 72 Give not women too delicate food or drink.
- 76
- [Fol. 50.]
 80 Let them indulge not in strife,
 but vie with their neighbours in thrift.
- 84 Be not proud, nor lazy on work-days.
- 88 Let not women use painting;

for it is a shame
to be white and
red one day, and
faded the next.
Keep the hue of
nature.

Be piteous to the
poor.

Speak well of
people behind
their back.

Let a wife keep
her husband's
honour.
Be sweet and
debonnaire.

not wandering in
the streets,

for that is folly.

[Fol. 50b.]

Let her associate
with her equals.

Love not sleep.

Keep wise com-
panions.
Imitate the best.

Bot nocth with colouris, na payntry,

3692 For fyk thyng is bot gyglotry. 92

Schame is to day be quhit & red,

And onne the morne waleyt as a wed;

Bot kep þe hew of hir nature,

3696 For fyk fairnes fal langeſt dure. 96

Kep biding and leif clenly,

Thank god and love hym ythandly,

Be euer of pur folk petousable,

3700 Do almouſ deid, be cherytable, 100

Gyf folk gud word behynd þer bak,

And love al leid, and nane to lak.

And gif sche be in godys band,

3704 Se euer honore to her hufband, 104

And be graciouſ to his menþe,

Kepand her hufbandis honestee ;

Tyll al folk fwet and debonar,

3708 With gudly wyll at hire poware. 108

Be ferme of hed, fut, and hand,

Nocht oft in stret to be wanerand ;

For wanerynge betaknis wylſumnes,

3712 Wanwyt, welth, ore wantonneſ, 112

Ore elles to sek fum cumpany,

At war nocth lyk to be gudly.

Bot ay hald rowndl and plan maner,

3716 Haldand ay falowſhip with her feir; 116

Fle fra defamyt cumpany,

Lyk drawys to lyk ay comonly.

Luf nocth slepinge, na gret fuernes,

3720 Fore mekill ill cummys of ydilnes. 120

Nocht leif to wantoune giglotryſ,

Kep feris of women at are wyrſ;

And euer conferme hir to þe best,

3724 Of women that ar worthyſt. 124

Do na thinge that ill lyk may bee,

Gif na occasioune for to lee ;

- Fore quhen s̄cho dois that is lyk ill,
 3728 Traist noct̄ that folk wyll hald thaim still.
 Hant noct̄ with men our anerly,
 All be thai neuer mar fa worthi;
 Ga noct̄ alone in hir erand,
- 128 Folk will not conceal evil doing.
 Seek not men's company.
- 3732 Tak child ore maidinge *in her hand* ;
 It is no point of honestee,
 A gud woman allane to bee.
 In cumpany of mony ane,
- 132 Go 'not alone on errands.
 132 It is not good for women to be out alone.
- 3736 And mekill leſ with ane alone ;
 It is no point of gud custum ;
 Fore na man wyll the gud presum.
 And quhen s̄cho paſſ hir erand,
- 136
- 3740 Byd noct̄ lang one It tareand,
 Na syt noct̄ dounē to hald talkyne,
 Quhill s̄cho forſhet hir hame ganging :
 Think quhat s̄cho has ado at hame
- 140 Be not long on errands.
 144 Think of what is to be done at home.
- 3744 And ay be dredand to have blame.
 Women that hafſ a thowlas hart
 Ane hourē ore twa thinkis bot a start ;
¹Gyf men thain withgang wantonly,
- 144 Women forget how time flies.
- 3748 Than wyll thai cowet the maiftry.
 Thar is na thing thai cowet mare
 Na fredome, fauore, and gud fair ;
 Na wald neuer correkyt bee,
- 148 Women like to rule,
 [Fol. 51.]
- 3752 Na ſit reprowyt in no degré :
 Thai fuld kep lawte, day & nycht,
 And maift quhar thai haue lawte hicht.
 Hait noct̄ but gret cauſ manifest,
- 152 but should be obedient.
- 3756 The fyrf luf ay be lowyt best ;
 That ſche of luf have neuer repruf,
 To do wnlawte to hir lufee
 Pref̄ to be lowyt *with her menȝe*,
- 156 Indulge not hatred.
 Stick to a first love.
- 3760 Fra drunkyne folk and tawarne flee ;
- 160 Flea drunkenness.

¹ In the margin here is "Nota bene."

Go to church;	Be leif of prayer, quhen tho may, And her meß one the haly day ; Fore mekle gud cummys of praynge,	164
behave well when there.	3764 And garris men mak gud endinge. And our al thinge kep <i>her</i> in kirk To kek abak, to lauch, or smyrke ; And after nwne, one the haly day,	164
Always be honestly employed when at home.	3768 Owthir pray, or play at honest play, To reid bukis, or lere wefinge, Be occupeid euer in sum thinge ; But leif set nocht hir hart to luf,	168
Follow advice.	3772 Thar folowis efter gret repruf. Leif thare awne wyll & do confaill, Ore It fall turne thaim to tynfaill ; Tait nocht with men na mak raginge,	172
Toy not with men.	3776 Fore oft It makes a foul endynege ; It is a takine a full women To tyg and tait oft with þe men. And our al thing, as oft faid I,	176
Keep from bad company and foul language.	3780 Kep hir fra cankyryt cumpany, Fra foul wordis and wnhonest ; Fare langag is euer prafyt best. And tak ay fampyll be <i>her</i> nichtbour,	180
Bad people wish others to be like them. [Fol. 51b.]	3784 Gif euer scho thinkis to haf honour. Fore quha defamyt war, or wyke, Wald al the laif war to thaim lyk, Be nocht redy chargis to tak,	184
Be not a go-between.	3788 Na erandis bere, na mesage mak ; Fore thai are condisciouunes of barnis. At E nocht feis, hart nocht ðarnis ; Tharfor fuld women kepty bee,	188
What the eye does not see the heart does not miss. So women should be kept close,	3792 At thai may nocht na licht women fee ; Suppos It war agane thar wyll, It kepis thaim oft tymis fra ill. Fore ful women ar fo smytable,	192
and not allowed to see wicked ways.	3796 And till al wykit wycis able,	196

- That euer the company quhar thai tak
Sal neuer chap without a lak.
Men bindis oft folk agane thar will,
- 3800 Quhill sum gret cure be done thaim till ;
Quhilk war noct̄ forþ þai wald noct̄ dud,
And þhit it¹ cummys thaim al for gud.
And þhit weil mar fuld madenis þhinge²
- 3804 Be stratly keptit with gret awinge ;
In teiching with a gud maistrefß,
Quhilk knawis gud thewis, mar & leß ;
And chaisfe thaim, quhill thai are child
- 3808 Quhill wylome cum throw wyt or eild.
For þouthed ay inclynis to wyce,
For felding find we barnis wyfß ;
Folk may in þouthed tift a child,
- 3812 That fore na gold wad do in eild.
Forthi þunge lordis ar put to cur,
Quhill wylome cum thaim be natur ;
Or ellis throw documentis, ore age,
- 3816 To gouerne weill thare heritage.
Sa fuld madenis fra Ill cumpany
Nan ill ensampill see thaim by ;
Fore falt of aw, and of teichinge,
- 3820 Gerris madenis oft tak ill endinge,
Quhilk and thai had in thar þouthage,
Quhill thai of wylome have knawlage,
And chafte thaim, quhen thai do mys,
- 3824 Fore wantone thowleß rakleß Is,
Thai fuld be chaift and cheritable,
Worthi women wyfß and able,
And efter cum to gret valoure,
- 3828 And do thar frendis gret honour.
And quhen thai haf na Instrukcyoune,
Na for thar misdeid puniscioune,
- 200 Such restraint
may be used for
their good.
- 204 This rule should
be particularly
observed with
the young.
- Correct girls
while young.
- 208
- 212 You cannot
correct them
when older.
- Young lords are
put under go-
vernors;
- 216
- so maidens
should be kept
close.
- [Fol. 52.]
- 224
- They should be
chaste and chari-
table.
- 228 But if their
friends fail to
train them,

¹ is. MS.² This line and the following are transposed in the MS.

they are much to blame,

and shall be punished;

therefore correct your children.

Keep them from poverty;

for want often leads women to do wrong;

so they should not be exposed to the temptation.

[Fol. 52b.]

- Bot lattis thaim flow in wantounnes,
3832 And fauoris thaim in thar wykytnes, 232
¹Than of thar Ill thai have the wyt,
 And, do thai weil, the mar meryt.
 For oft tymis frendis, have no dreid,
3836 Ar dampnit for thar barnis deid, 236
 And puttis thaim self in sturt & ftryve,
 And oft in perell of faul and lyve.
 Quha will kep baith fra perischinge,
3840 Teich thaim in þouthed, our all thinge ; 240
 And pwnis thaim quhen thai do Ill,
 And lat thaim noct have al thar wyll.
 Bettyr pwnis thaim, and gar thaim mend,
3844 Na faul and lyf tak baith Ill end. 244
 And kep thaim fra neid & mistere,
 That pouerte gar thaim noct myffare ;
 For pouertee tynis mony gud woman,
3848 Quhilkis, and thai had thriftee men, 248
 With gudly suet neidfull lewyng,
 Thai wald neuer do mys, for nakyne thinge.
 For oft tymis wrechitnes kynne
3852 Syk neid and strefß haldis madenys In, 252
 That thai are pynd with pouertee,
 Quhill gret neid garris thar hartis dee ;
 And may noct, for thar wrechitnes,
3856 Gret couatice, and gret nedynes, 256
 Put thaim in tyme to thar profyt.
 Thus, do thai mys, thai have the wyt,
 And al the chargis of thare syne,
3860 That neid and myster puttis thaim In. 260
 . Thai have na craft how suld thai leif,
 And frendis will thaim na thing gif ;
 Than is thar noct bot do ore dee ;
3864 One fors thus mone thai fulys bee. 264

¹ Here is in the margin “ *Nota bene.*”

- For mony lordis ar *nocht* larg,
Thinkand thai have our gret charge,
To mary thar barnis to þer estat;
3868 And ofte thar lang baid cummys to lait.
For natur drawis euer to kynd,
And lukis *nocht* quhat may cum behind;
And quhen thai forfalt, thai are fane,
3872 & garris men veyne It dois thaim pane.
Quhen scho is tred her shoo one heill
Than will thai say, “Had scho done weill
Scho had ben maryt richly:
3876 Now lat her chewys her, fore thi.”
Thus mony gud madyne oft tyme,
For fault of mareag in tyme,
Ar tint, for fault of warldis gud;
3880 Thai can *nocht* wyne thar lyvis fud
With trawaill, craft, and laboreage;
And thus in to thar tender age,
In thar maist farhed, dois foly;
3884 And in thar eild nan settis thaim by.
Thus mone thai begaris be alway,
And oft tyme deis before thar day;
Of quhilk thar frendes has the wyt,
3888 And god and natur has diffpyt,
& quha his barnis puttis *nocht* to lare,
And garris teich thaim at his poware,
And noryþ thaim to perfyt age,
3892 And purway madenis of mareag
Eftr thar stat, and gyf thaim aw,
Thai ar al curfyt be godis law.
- Now have I tald ȝow mine awyþ,
3896 How ȝe fuld knew men that are wyþ,
And alþ ful men in sum party,
Be findry poynatis generaly;
And als of findry documentis
- If parents, from desire of good matches, are too long in marrying their children off it is not well.
- 268
- Then they are sorry if their children go wrong.
- 272
- Girls should be married young.
- 276
- 280
- 284
- or else their friends have the blame of their errors.
- 288
- Children should be well taught.
- 292
- This is a parent's duty.
- Here ends my advice
- 296

to young people.

It is drawn from
the lessons of
wise men of old.The thanks are
due to them, not
to me.Let all readers
pray for the
maker of this
book.

3900	To fcharp zong men in thar ententis ; Of wysmen that before has ben, And mekil honor knawin & fen, Quhilk thai drew out throw thare gret wyt,	300
3904	And efter maid seir bukis of It : Quhilk thai drew out of bukis old, Quhar It lay, as in myne the gold. Quhat thank serf I þocht It gud bee ?	304
3908	Sen gudnes cummys noct of me, Bot of thir worthi mennis fawis, That fyrst maid profecy & lawis.	308
3912	And here I pray ye redaris all, And als ye heraris, gret and small, That ay, quhen at thai one It luke, Thai pray for hym that maid the buk ; And fore al crifynne man, and me ;	312
3916	Amen, amen, fore cherytte.	316

*Explicit liber moralis, secundum dicta antiquorum patrum,
etc., etc., etc. Amen.*

(11.) [VERTEWIS OF THE MESS.]

Her begynnis the Vertewis of the meß, apprewyt be the haly wryt, baith be our lord Ihesu crif^{tis} word^{is}, and vthir haly fanetis and doctouris of þe crifayne faith. And fyrst and formist.

Testimonies
to the vir-
tues of the
mass.

Sanet paul fais that ryght as our lord Ihesu eryft is mar worthi and mar preciouſ than ony vthir creatur that god maid, fa is þe meß mar worthi and mar preciouſ than ony vthir orefone or sacrifice that may be faid or maid in this erd.

3920

St. Paul's.

Item, sanct barnard fais, that It is mar spedfull, neidful, and profitable to the manis faul heill to her meß, with clen hart & gud deuoacione, na for to gif for þe luf of god þe fee of fa mickle land as a man may ourgang quhill the meß is in doinge.

3924

St. Bernard's.

Item, our lord Ihesu fais that quhat sum euer thing þat men with clen hart and gud deuoacione askis at the meß in thar præieris, *It falbe grantyt thaim or elles bettir and mar profitable thing, na thai ask hym, be mekill. Item, quiequid orantes petitis &c.

3928

Our Lord's.

[Fol. 53b.]

3932

Item, sanct Jerome fais that till here meß with clen hart and gud dewocioune garris the faulys that he prayes for feil na Payne in purgatory quhil that meß is in doinge.

St. Jerome's.

Item, sanct ancelyne fais that to her a meß with clen hart and gud deuoacione, or gar say a meß in a manis lyf is mar meritable till his faul heill, na that hes executors or frendis gart say 1^M meß for hym after at he be ded.

3936

St. Anselm's.

Item, sanct ambroſ fais that quhat euer met or drink a perfone tak after meß perfitis hym mar till his heil and lang lyf, na It that he ettis befor meß.

3940

S. Ambrose's.

Item, sancte augustine fais that for al the tyme þat a perfone be at þe meß he standis in sted, and eildis noct^t, bot haldis hym in the famyn þouthed he was in quhen he come to þe meß.

St. Augus-
tine's.

3944

Item, the famyne sanct Augustyne fais that the tyme of þe meß that a man heris lengthis his lyf sa lang mar, na he fuld leif, and he hard na meß in his lyf.

3948

St. Chrysos-
tom's.

Item, os aurii fais that quhat woman that takes her child

bed that day that feho has hard meß, feho fal ber *her* birth
with leß Payne and dolour, na feho had noct̄ hard meß that

3952 day.

St. Luke's. Item, fanet louk fais that quhat persone hapnis to deceſ ſe
day that thai here meß, thai fal be reput and done with, as lang-
and þe dewyteis of haly kyrk, as thai had tane al þe sacramentis
3956 of haly kirk that day.

St. Mat- Item, sancte matho fais that the tyme that a persone hiris
thew's. meß, thai fall fall in na dedly fyne, and all waneall synnis
fal be forgewyne thaim throw the wertew of the meß.

3960 St. Gregory's. Item, sancte gregore fais that fore ilke meß that is said
denoutly fudry faulys ar deliueryt and fred out of þe Payne of
purgatory, and mony levand men ar turnyt fram þer ill lyf to
gud lyf for euer.

3964 St. Augus- Item, fanet augustyne fais that the gud angell that kepis þe
tine's. manis faul comptis wp and wrytis al the steppis at a man*
[Fol. 54.] makes to the meß, and fore ilkane of thaim god fal reuard
(hym) her or hym.

3968 St. Gregory's. Item, sancte gregore fais that the day that a persone heris
meß deuotly, and at the ficht of the sacrament fais his pater
noster, he fal noct̄ that day want his levynge sufficiantly.

St. Bede's. Item, sancte beid fais that suppos a man her meß or gyf
3972 almons in deidly fyne, or uthir gud dedis, It profytis hym to
thre thingis. It kepis hym fra misaduenturis and perell to
cum and garis hym be mare able to ryß out of his fyne, &
gif he paß to hell It lefys his panis thar.

3976 St. Augus- Item, sancte Augustine fais that the day that a man feis godis
tine's. body, and makis his prayaris to hym deuotly, he fal noct̄ that
day tyne his ficht.

Ibid. Item, sancte Augustyne fais that the day that a man fal here
3980 meß with clen hart & gud deuocioune he fal noct̄ de of a
fudane ded.

Ibid. Item, fanet auguslyne fais that for þe tyme of the meß suppos
þe ewill spreit be in a man synfull, that in the tyme that he
3984 feis the haly sacrament, þe evil spret fleis out of þe man fore
the tyme of þe meß.

Item, os aurii fais that the meſſ is als worthi as þe ſelf ded ^{St. Chrysostom's.}
and paſcioune of cryſt quhen It was donne of deid proprely.

Item, fancte Augustine fais that in the tyme of the meſſ the ³⁹⁸⁸ hewyne opnys, the angel descendis, and beris cumpany to þat ^{St. Augustine's.} haly sacrament.

Item, fancte gregore sais that the cloud settis his befynis to ^{St. Gregory's} here meſſ, and failzeis noct̄ in hym he fal have the meid as ³⁹⁹² he had hard meſſ, and he be one forſ ore vthir ways haldin tharfra.

N O T E S.

Page 1, line 5. *thaim that are put in the fech[t]ing of dede.* This passage in the Cambridge MS., Ff. 5, 45, alluded to in the preface, stands thus: “þat bene in poynt of dethe.” So that the word *fechinge*, which the MS. gives, is most likely a mistake for *fechting*, struggle. 10. *as*, here, is for the relative *which*. Perhaps it may be an error for *at*, which is the more common. 13. *doutable to be tholyt*, terrible to be endured. 16. *ell*; here and elsewhere this form is probably for *ell=ellis*. cf. 487. 21. *ded o neide men*, death of needy men.

P. 2, l. 24. *at ever*, so ever. 34. *baide the cummyne*, awaited the coming. 43. *he*, i.e., Jesus Christ. 44. & *safurth, etc.*, and so on throughout the New Testament. 49. *fore It gret comfort*, for its great comfort. 57. *It is to wyt*, you must know.

P. 3, l. 60. *wreukis* should be *wrenkis*. The word occurs in the “Ayenbite,” p. 129. “Man may longe his lyues wene, and oft him lyeȝeþ his wrench.” The analogies of the Kentish and Northumbrian dialects have been pointed out by Mr. Kemble, Philolog. Trans., vol. ii. p. 36. 81. *to have thaim to thare brūþer*; this is a slip of the scribe, and should be, *to have him*. 88. *tyll he is*; i.e., while he is. 92. Probably this was a rhyming proverb current at the time:

“Sufficiandly forthocht,
Syne noyis nocht.

pocȝ: this word evidently refers to what is said afterwards of the position of Christ's limbs on the cross.

P. 4, l. 100. *murthersar*: Fr. *meurtrisseur*, a constant form in Scotch. cf. Lyndesay's Monarche, 3692 :

“That prudent Prince was trampit doun
And murdest in his counsall hous.”

- Other examples occur in ll. 4213, 4219, 5107 of the same poem, and the verb *to murdres* in line 5828. 104. *at ar knawing*, which are all for the best if they were well known. 126. *that in the paciens tharof we may wyne*, which (joy of heaven) in the patient bearing of (our tribulations) we may win.
- P. 5, l. 131. *þan sum*, apparently a clerical error for *þat sune*. 157. *and syker—in the faith*: and certain it is (that) he, who feels sorrow or uneasiness in the leaving of these cardinal delights, is not firm in the faith.
- P. 6, l. 177. *maid thairby go*, ordained thereby (i.e. by its heavenly origin) to go. 184. *at the law lewis*, which the law allows.
- P. 7, l. 203. *he vynand*, while he wins. These words are inserted as a case absolute. 213. *be the faith of him and ded*, i.e. by the faith and death of him (Christ).
- P. 8, l. 248. *For in the thocht, etc.* : For in the thought in which the soul passes from the body it is taken for ever. 250. *angell*, may be for *angeH=angellis*, angels. 257. *saint*, perhaps an error for *sauit*, saved.
- P. 9, l. 270. *sursastnes* should be *surfastnes*. 271. *with suernes*, against laziness. 272. Make no attempt against force wherein you may fail. 273. *laitis*. This is from the Icelandic *lát*, and applies to gestures and habits, as of woman *i láti manna* with men's manners; generally in a bad sense. The word occurs in "The Three Tailes of the Three Priests of Peblis," l. 984 :
- "Then on his kneis he askit forgivenes,
For his licht laytes and his wantones."
276. *Lak na lofe*. The first word seems an error for *luk*; the sense would then be: Take care not to praise too much; or the text may mean, "Don't blame or praise too largely." 277. Take care that you don't, through faintheartedness, commit a fault. 287. Be stout against wrong when men meddle with you.
- P. 10, l. 304. *W'ayue thi lust* : this is probably for *Wayne*, i.e. remove. 310. *orne*, a mistake for *Ene*. So also in 329. 316. *Ris steppis few*, an error for "*His steppis seic*," his steps follow. 317. *Exill all wyte for wyee*, i.e. vice. 320. This stanza, which is not in the MS., but which belongs to the poem, is added from "Ane Competitious Booke of godly and spirituall Songs, newlie corrected and amended by the first originall Copie., Edinb., 1621." 8vo. The poem there has the colophon. "Finis. ¶. Quod King James the first." An older version of the date of 1578

was reprinted by David Laing, in 1868, in "Gude and Godlie Ballates." I append it in full:—

"Sen throw Vertew incressis dignitie,
And vertew is flour and rute of Noblesse ay,
Of ouy wit, or quhat estait thow be,
His steppis follow, and dreid for none effray :
Ejeet vice, and follow treuth alway :
Lufe maist thy God that first thy lufe began,
And for ilk inche he will thé quyte ane span.

"Be not ouir proude in thy prosperitie,
For as it cummis, sa will it pas away ;
The tyme to compt is schort, thow may weill se,
For of grene gress sone cummis wallowit bay.
Labour in treuth, quhilk smith is of thy fay ;
Traist maist in God, for he best gyde thé ean,
And for ilk inche he will thé quyte ane span.

"Sen word is thrall, and thocht is only fre,
Thou dant thy toung, that power hes and may,
Thow steik thy ene fra wardis vanitie :
Refraine thy lust, and harkin quhat I say :
Graip or throw slyde, and keip furth the hie way,
Thow hold thé fast upon thy God and man,
And for ilk inche he will thé quyte ane span,
Quod King James the First."

From "The Gude and Godlie Ballates," 1578, rep. 1868, p. 202.¹

323. *wallowed hay*. Another example of this word occurs below l. 3694, "waleyt as a wed." 324. Work out truthfully what you believe to be the truth.

P. 11, l. 329. See above, 310. 337. Should do such labour as befits them.

P. 12, l. 363. *assithit*. The more usual form of the verb is *assethe*. The noun occurs in "Prieke of Conscience," 3610, 3747. 379. Dele the point after *hym*, and put a comma after *Fore*. The capital letter is in the MS. 384. *and*, an error of the scribe for *are*. 389. *hir* should be *hie*, high.

P. 13, l. 390. *thar* should be *thaim*. 391. *full*, written in the MS. *full*, perhaps=fullis=fools. Cf. *Lancelot*, preface, p. xix. 397. *and reput*, etc., and I considered mirth and laughter great error.

¹ Page 202. "Sen throw Vertew incressis dignitie." This is the only authority for attributing these verses to King James the First of Scotland (1406–1437). In Bannatyne's MS., 1568, fol. 58, they occur anonymously, with numerous verbal differences. In neither copy do we find the language of the early part of the fifteenth century.

408. *stankis.* Lyndesay : Monarche, 5020-3, speaking of Solomon, says :—

“ His plesand Habitationis
Precellit all vtheris Nationis
Gardyngis and Parkis for Hartis and Hyndis,
Stankis with fysche of diuers kyndis.”

412. *at our al thaim tat was*, above all them who were. 413. *of.* This seems to mean *over and above*; if so, it is connected with Isl. *of*=*over* much, so much used in composition, as *of-mikill*=*too* much, etc. 417. *weschell*, vessel. This word formerly was used as a plural; cf. Trevisa's translation of Higden, vol. iii. p. 181: “ He shulde zelde the holy vessel *azen*;” for a rendering of *et rasa restitueret*; and p. 185, for *concessit ei rex rasa templi*, “ þe king graunted him þe vessel of þe temple.”

P. 15, l. 472. *till leif to a full raistour*, etc., to leave to a foolish waster all their goodly realms and possessions. 487. *fore he shall nocht*, etc., for he shall have nothing else for his portion of the world. 493. *cure of waist*, i.e. anxiety about waste. 495. *na hap to good hym*. No hope to benefit himself. I have not met *good* used as a verb elsewhere.

P. 16, l. 512. *Item he sais that.* After these words there is an omission of, *he consideryt*, which must be supplied from the preceding sentence. 522. *Remowand in singularite*, i.e. All things are perpetual in their kind and nature, although in individual cases they be unstable. 530. *and all elyk under lyis vanite*, and vanity underlies everything alike.

P. 17, l. 540. *challenginge.* Here used for *accusing*. 556. *and oft tymis fall*, i.e. The goods oftentimes fall into the hands of those who most hated him. 560. *ocht misteris*, needs anything.

P. 18, l. 584. *his lewing*, his living, that which he can consume on himself. 589. *in were*, for the worse. 590. *he walkis in wntymis*, he awakes at irregular times.

P. 19, l. 629. *mar master*, i.e. a greater master.

P. 20, l. 651, *flethit=flechit*, flattered. 655. *lowable to god*, praiseworthy in the sight of God. 662. *but riches*, without riches.

P. 21, l. 683. *and mak hym*, etc., and make himself, at times, as though he heard not that which he hears. 702. But he mixes himself up, of his own choice, with so many various concerns, without end, of which none but God may know whether they be good or ill. 708. *part*, i.q. port, carriage, bearing. 711. The first

god in this line is inserted by an error of the scribe, and should be omitted.

P. 22, l. 719. Nor do the pains of death then permit him at all to take rest. 744. And lead thy life with them that love thee for the period of this uncertain life.

P. 23, l. 756. *Ryt in the row*, should be *cryit in the row*, i.e. published as in a roll-calling. See Jamieson. 764. That no men, but fools, should be made (much) of by great men. 770. *fall* for *fall=fallis*, falls. 780. *cumandy* should be *cunandy*.

P. 24, l. 787. *murmure hymē in thar collacione*, revile him in their private meeting. Collacione, in this sense, occurs in Lyndesay's Kittie's Confession :—

“ When Ladyis makis collacione,
With ony lusty compāneone.”

817. *in cauernys and in ernes*. The last two words are wrong. The MS. has the letters *mir nes*, the *ir* being written by an abbreviation above the *m*. I would therefore conjecture *mirknes* as the word intended. It is not unlikely that the scribe, having turned up the final stroke of the *m* to make the abbreviation-mark, should proceed to add *nes* as a termination, this being so much more common than *knes*. 818 *The rewiss and, etc.* The last two words should be united. The verb *rewess* occurs in the sense of “to clothe anew” (See Jamieson), and these two words united form the present participle of that verb. In the very next sentence the rehabilitation of the body is described, and the sense of this clause will be : “And those who are assuming their bodies anew shall afterwards all rise together.” Mr. Murray says, *rewis* here=*streets*, and in Eccl. xii. 4, the words are “And the doors shall be shut in ‘the streets;’” but this leaves the word *and*, in the text, unaccounted for, and makes a very clumsy translation. 819. *worth deife*, become deaf.

P. 25, l. 823. The dust of which man was made shall return into its first form, and the spirit shall return again into the body made of dust. The side note (for which the Editor is not responsible) is wrong. 828. i.e. when *he* was called the wisest of the world *he* made, etc.

P. 26, l. 858. *Bot gyf thai laif viciously*. The verb should be *leif*, and the sentence means, But if they (i.e. the children) live viciously, think then that the parents' time is all gone by. 868. *alle*, an adverb, utterly, entirely. 880–885. In these six

lines there has been some slip. We perhaps should read *virtuous* for *vieious* in 880. The two first evidently had some words explaining how to *depart* the good from the ill, practically, by *doing* the good and *leaving* the ill. In 882 the insertion of the pronoun *he* after *Reward* makes the sense complete, or if *Reward*=*Rewardit*, the p.p., which would improve the metre as well as the sense. The last two appear to have had some such meaning as: "Whoso remembers God's might, he never more will do but right." From a careful perusal of the MS. I cannot suggest any alteration in the text.

- P. 27, l. 884. To read *þe* for *We* improves the sense, and if in the original the Saxon letters were used, the scribe might easily mistake the one for the other. 896. *Worthis till*, become, attain to be. 898. *luk thai abate*, i.e. they decline from luck and prosperity. 901. Become the bond-thralls of strangers. 903. *of* should be *or*. Cf. 905. 915. Unless he knew each secret thing.
- P. 28, l. 927. *in to party*, in some degree. 947. From the line which follows this, it is clear that in this line something had been said of the power of grace to help against deadly sin. But the line as it stands is not intelligible. Either there is some error, or else the sentence is not complete, and a couplet has been lost which explained the action of grace against sin. Mr. Murray suggests *ȝhow* for *how*.
- P. 29, l. 949. *so ferand*. This is one word=*sovran*. 954. Unless it be contrary to reason for the sake of bringing him to a worse end. He is allowed to climb that he may have the farther to fall. 957. *al*, an error for *il*. 967. *And led the fray*, and lead thee from. 980. For if thou seest the places like to evil, and yet afterwards choosest them of thy free will, thou turnest the virtue of sight into a vice.
- P. 30, l. 992. masterer should be master. 997. *Fore þow dois*, should be *Fore gif þow dois*; and this insertion improves both the sense and the metre. 1000. And you may nowise excuse yourself, and say that for some cause it must be so. Thus the earlier sense of *shall*=*debere*, to owe, comes out. 1006. *tendyr*, read *tendyt*. 1012. *ferre*, read *feire*=fierce, strong. 1013. *site*, read *sice*. 1016. *Tras weil*, i.e. Trows well, or it may be an error for *Trast*, trust.
- P. 31, l. 1024. The good and kindly adviee of masters in their books has said to us. The side note is wrong. 1030. *lypir* is

leprosy; *byll*, bile; *the faland ill*, epilepsy; and *wild fyre*, erysipelas. 1032. *With vthir sum ar les to dout*, with some other (diseases) which are less to be feared.

- P. 32, l. 1064. *sek*, appears both from the metre and sense to be superfluous. I have my doubts whether *perfyt and* should not be one word, and then *to do perfyt and syk gudnes*, would mean, to bring to perfection such goodness. 1082. *handis deid*, hands' deed, the actions of the hands. 1087. *falt*, falls out, happens.
- P. 33, l. 1090. And they become accursed, which is worse than any other loss by far. 1093. *To lang arang*, too long harangue. 1095. *Fow mekle*, full much; a full great grace has God lent them. 1097. *Gothra the bulzone*, Godfrey of Bouillon. 1113. *Mycht*, i.e. (which) might. 1121. *vertuoūſ*. This is a frequent spelling of the noun. Cf. 814.
- P. 34, l. 1130. *Be mouch*. An error. There should be something like *But noucht*. Compare the next couplet. 1135. In this and the next line for *witis* read *wicis*. 1139. *thar vanting*. Their deficiency, that by which they fall short of the mean: as the *mekle thing* is their excess above the mean. 1142. *It at*, that which; and in 1145. 1147. *enschew* for *eschew*. 1156. *at one*, should be *at our*, over and above. 1160. *bot hwn*, without shame or scruple. The more usual form of the word is *hone*. See Halliwell.
- P. 35, l. 1164. Seems to be a continuation of the exhortation in the previous line. To mind the good leave the contrary. And it has these several roots (for *dutis* read *rutis*). 1177. And that (which) should not be done he lets alone. 1178. *at*, that which. 1188. Give each man that (which) is known (to be) his, and right so tak to thee thine own.
- P. 36, l. 1201. Be diligent to bring about an agreement. 1210. *tynis to be lell, etc.*, loosest by being upright, thou shalt gain thrice as much afterwards. 1226. Yet occasionally God's secret counsel works contrarily, but not without cause.
- P. 37, l. 1236. She can teach the ignorant their duty, and acquire crafts of subtle device, and yet not press her (i.e. make it a great trouble). 1242. *red*, to regulate. 1250. For *haf* we should apparently read *leif*, live. 1254. *Do þow ryeht sa, etc.* These two lines contained some explanation of the means by which the discordant persons might *fall weill in concord and bounte*. But as the words stand I have not been able to make out what the means intended were. 1265. *one neid*, of necessity.

P. 38, l. 1275. *gretly till alow*, greatly to be praised. 1286. *Oucht lange*, for any long time. 1300. *Sobyr mesing of Irous wyll*, etc., calm mitigation of angry desire to act without judgment. The verb is used in Lyndesay's Monarche, l. 4159 of a master's behaviour to his scholars :

“Quhen thay obey, and *mesit* bene his yre,
He takis the wand and castis into the fyre.”

Another form *to ameis* occurs in Lyndesay's Complaint, l. 42 :

“Quharethrow the first men wer displesit,
Bot he thame prudentlie *amesit*.”

1301. *bot skill*, without reason.

P. 39, l. 1313. *al hall*, entirely. 1314. *beris the zettis*, bar the gates. *Stek*, in the next line, is still a common North-country word for *to shut the door*. 1316. for *wyte* read *wyce*. 1318. *Oblast*, etc., Bound by pledge in every thing to your intentions. This form of the participle is used of the pledges of Monks and Nuns in the “Satyre of the thrie Estaits,” l. 1231, where the Prioress drives Chastity away, saying :

“Go seik ludging at sum auld Monk or Freir
Quilks ar *obleist* to yow, als weill as I.”

1331. When none but God knows the truth.

P. 40, l. 1342. *prosperiteis* should be *properties*, properties. 1367. For *this* read *thus*. 1370. *Aneet* (or *Antee*) *lady ane*. I am indebted to Mr. Bradshaw for pointing out to me that the work alluded to by this name, written *divisim* as printed, is “*Anti-claudianus*,” a book composed at the end of the twelfth century by Alanus de Insulis (the younger writer so called), and which has the additional title “*De viro optimo et in omni virtute perfecto*.” 1372. *godin*=god in, i.e. good in.

P. 41, l. 1407. *growin* to read *grow into*, increase unto. 1409. This line should be written,

“To tak to tryans þocht þow mocht,”

and means, “to take to Stratagems though you might have the opportunity. *tryans*=trynis. Fr. *traine*, trick, art. The word “train” in this sense occurs in Shakespeare. Macbeth, Act iv. Sc. iii. :

“Devilish Macbeth
By many of these trains hath sought to win me
Into his power.”

P. 42, l. 1437. *bruk þer yarnyng*, enjoy their ambition.

P. 43, l. 1479. *to pwr*=too poor.

- P. 44, l. 1517. Of each one could I give an example; but because they are hateful to hear, I think it best to leave off as though dumb.
- P. 45, l. 1538. And wonder not though I say so. 1544. *Waist*: apparently this word is equal to *careless expression*. Don't call honour blessed, if it be without gifts of the Holy Ghost, unless it be in a mere careless mode of expression. 1547. *Her*. I believe this should be *Wer*. The first letter of the word is written in a very curious manner, unlike any other letter in the MS. It looks very like H, but not at all like the form of that letter in other places of the MS. *Wer*=*Worse* makes a good sense (cf. supra, 955), while *Her* makes none.
- P. 47, l. 1593. Although you may think that it hinders you for so much time in other things, yet it shall turn out well in the end. 1609. *were na void*, worse than mad. *void*=wode. Cf. *woid* in Glossary to Lancelot. 1618. There is nothing but mercy alone. 1620. Yet should you be aware of some other motives for fear they turn your judgment. 1625. *one stere*, i.e. astir.
- P. 48, l. 1638. But such motives may mar you more, which I shall describe unto you. 1644. *vages*. This word, which I cannot find elsewhere, seems to be from the root *wag*, to waver, and mean *a state of wavering*. So that the sense of the line would be, For maddening joy, being in a wavering unsettled condition, hinders all truthful good knowledge. 1660. *of*=above. See note on line 413.
- P. 49, l. 1665. *May turne*, i.e. (which) may turn. 1674. *fyrst*, a clerical error for *ferd*=fourth. So in Lancelot. 1677. *nue*, i.e. *naen*=none.
- P. 50, l. 1713. *The*, i.e. *Thee*. 1717. *ane ore al*, one or all. 1726. *sen*=seldom. 1731. In many more than two or three cases.
- P. 51, l. 1748. Touching thy disposition, which is influenced by the stars. 1753. *thar tyll*, i.e. thereto, upon that matter. 1756. Until proper time have elapsed in which to form a judgment.
- P. 52, l. 1780. Contrary to all the probabilities of reason. 1791. *mother*=*mother's*. 1796. And from thenceforth she will become more stubborn assuredly than any beast is. 1799. *tak sted*, make a stand.
- P. 53, l. 1806. And let her work by herself with that folly which she has chosen. 1811. *contyrpan*. I cannot explain this word. It seems to mean, *the contrary part*, but I cannot find an example elsewhere. 1824. If you willingly neglect. 1827.

- pled*, quarrel. 1838. Be sure, it must be thus, or worse, from the time you become a pleader.
- P. 54, l. 1849. *fyxst thy chyngē*. These words, which occur in the last line of one page of the MS., are written with very long and flourishing tails to the letters, and look exactly like what is here printed; but there is no doubt they are for *fyrst thy thynge*, i.e. let thy property go on credit. 1855. *mone empare*, must injure it (merchandise). 1873. That which it is of no advantage to a king to keep, may enrich his servant many fold.
- P. 55, l. 1880. Without any deceit, till you take your leave of him. 1882. If he do you unreasonable wrong, unless you be well known, you will bear the blame. 1899. And show despite to your wanton wishes when hope and reason say *No* to them. 1905. *to mak the latinge*, to cause you to be hindered. 1910. *gar enschew*, cause a successful issue.
- P. 56, l. 1919. The man who will wait, and allow no alleviation of his desire, till death have carried away his rival, is seldom lord of (i.e. seldom obtains) his delight. 1936. The worse (i.e. with the more difficulty) do they get away from them.
- P. 57, l. 1952. *feild*, feel it. 1969. A child knows no more than an animal. 1973. This age participates in the nature of growing things, etc.
- P. 58, l. 1997. *Ekand*, adding on, i.e. to feeling and sight, the third condition of reason.
- P. 59, l. 2028. *which*, perhaps better *will*. Cf. 2035. 2040. He has a balance large and stable, which may well take in all at once.
- P. 60, l. 2066. *all* should be *ill*. Then *ill sytand*, ill suiting. 2081. Beware, my son, from the time that thou knowest her. 2086. Here is some error. In the next line *youcht*=*þoucht*, though.
- P. 61, l. 2092. *prop*, here is something put up as a mark to aim at. *Ryne at baris* alludes to the game still called *Prisoner's Bars* or *Base*. *Cuich* is a game of hand ball. In Lyndesay's *Satyre*, 3411, the Person says :
- " Thocht I preich not, I can play at the *eache*,
I wait thair is nocht ane, amang þow all
Mair ferilie can play at the fut ball.
And for the carts, the *tabis*, and the dyse,
Abone all persons I may beir the prysse."
- Tabis* here, as in our next line, means *backgammon*. 2108. To live virtuously, and not by gambling. 2117. *leif be wyll*, to live by will (i.e. as it pleases).

- P. 62, l. 2154. For *leftand* read *lestand*, lasting. 2256. *do } e pan*, take the trouble. 2158. The sense seems to require *in* instead of *na* in this line. "Goodness which holds each vice in despite."
- P. 64, l. 2204. *vtyting* apparently for *vryting*, written. 2213. Never went away without a grant of grace. 2234. And the will endeavours to become so strong.
- P. 65, l. 2270. *Ay wodly weildand*, always madly running wild.
- P. 66, l. 2281. *Alard*. I have great doubts about this word. *Lard* is used, by Dunbar, for a stupid person (see Jamieson). If *alard* be the adjective of this word, the whole passage would mean, "When God makes men sluggish and stupid (i.e. gives them up to their own listlessness), each man then is not eager for his reward, and will not lightly believe in reason, and praise and fear God's might." 2291. And the time is come (which) in all reason, etc.
- P. 67, l. 2317. *Na war*, i.e. Except (that they) were. 2331. *in mail engyne*, into bad disposition.
- P. 68, l. 2351. *and maryte*. This, I believe, should be *in mavyte*, i.e. in wickedness. Fr. *mauvestie*, malice. 2373. *quha lykit luk*, whoever likes to look.
- P. 69, l. 2379. *and gyf na taill*, and give no heed. 2392. *May thaim*, i.e. (he) may them, etc. 2401. *are yaris=are þaris*, or theirs; the sense being, either they or theirs shall receive as they measure to others.
- P. 70, l. 2428. The sense of this passage is: If God made all things to last for ever, it might be urged, with reason, that, as some were always in prosperity, while others continued in adversity, there was no God, but the course of nature ordered everything.
- P. 71, l. 2451. *an wodus baith*. This seems to mean *in both ways*, as explained in the next line. Can it be for *modus*, moods? 2476. *Thaim think it*, to them it seems.
- P. 72, l. 2506. Encumbers both fool and wise. 2514. And will nearly go mad about a loss. 2515. It lets alone furred clothing.
- P. 73, l. 2524. He may hardly go or stir, owing to the difficulty (of so doing). *wneß=unnethes*, hardly. 2542. *one to men*, i.e. unto men, with regard to persons. 2544. Its tendeney is downward, and it grows weaker every day. 2558. *sucht=suth*, sooth, true.
- P. 74, l. 2574. *euer for never*. 2586. *Lyvand by*, leaving out.
- P. 75, l. 2608. *is for (he) is*.

- P. 76, l. 2635. *one a wyf*, in one and the same way.
- P. 77, l. 2679. For speech, without writing, passes by like the wind.
- P. 78, l. 2702. The meaning is, “(Wisdom is better) than any stone of virtue (i.e. precious stone) that may be.” But the construction is imperfect. 2727. They look through their books and pick out seeds, etc.
- P. 79, l. 2751. The wise man always thinks he has too little knowledge, although etc.
- P. 80, l. 2772. He follows advice and leaves his own way. 2793. *creip the cors*, to creep to the cross; a penance imposed by the Roman Catholic Church, and often undertaken in self-humiliation or (as the writer hints) for ostentation. See Nares' Glossary, under *Cross*. See also Piers Plowman, text B., xviii. 428.
- P. 81, l. 2809. *bewsertis*. This word evidently means *bribes*; but I cannot find it elsewhere. Mr. Skeat suggests that it is from Fr. *beau, desert*. Beau is certainly often written *bew* in compounds, and serf=deserve, occurs more than once in these poems; but *beau desert* does not, as far as I know, occur in the sense required. Yet *serte, desert* (?), occurs in the *Morte Arthure*, Ed. Perry, l. 2927. Mr. Perry says *decree*, but this seems wrong. Mr. Murray suggests *benificeis* for *bewsertis*, and that the scribe has miscopied. 2826. For, if they do, they lose their merit.
- P. 82, l. 2845. If you have said *nay* a thousand times, you have still an opportunity of changing and saying *yea*; but when you have once said *yea* (and done anything) you cannot recall that.
- P. 83, l. 2884, *al in weire*, all in the worse, i.e. there is less chance of getting it. 2899. *lefull daft*, wilfully thoughtless. 2902. *revis=rives*, plunder, are ever grasping at more.
- P. 84, l. 2930. *Thai gyf na fors*, they take no anxiety. 2943. *wyll noct rest*, i.e. wisdom will not rest.
- P. 85, l. 2972. *quhey=quheþ*, an abbreviation for *quheþer*, whether.
- P. 86, l. 3025. They do without counsel.
- P. 88, l. 3056. And of other people they make no mention, or take no account. 3085. They find fault with other men's management.
- P. 89, l. 3116. They curse God for their uneasiness.
- P. 90, l. 3129. *wyȝ=wyse*, wise.
- P. 91, l. 3185. He that endures well overcomes everything.
- P. 96, l. 3343. *The hair in your neck* was a common proverb.
- P. 98, l. 3413. And do not thou, that misgovernest thyself, blame

fortune, though thou be unfortunate. 3437. For as far as punishment and merit are concerned, the will is counted for the deed. For stealers are not the only thieves.

P. 99, l. 3448. They are part and parcel with the wrongdoers for their concealment. 3452. *Na fore cursing*, Nor even when the cursing was pronounced in church. 3474. *rew* should be *trew*. Do not trust to bad teaching. 3475. Don't let off your little foe lightly.

P. 100, l. 3482. Than if it had come without being foreseen. 3496. *la wow*, lay (make) a vow. 3510. *Ne falow the nocth*, do not match (or compare) yourself.

P. 102, l. 3562. Thou shalt one day have to account for their doings.

P. 103, l. 3609. And in comparison with a greater thing is sooner broken.

P. 104, l. 3642. *our fer*, over far; too far. 3653. Nothing should ever be more honest than they.

P. 105, l. 3685. *wesching*, washen. 3689. To improve the fashion of her whom God has made.

P. 109, l. 3801. Which, were not force used, they would not do.

P. 110, l. 3864. *One fors*, of necessity.

P. 111, l. 3868. And oft that which they had long prayed for comes too late. 3872. *is* should be *hes*, has; and in the next line *Thay* should be *Than*.

P. 113, l. 3924. Portions of this piece on "The Vertewis of the Mess," are like parts of "The Virtue of ye Masse," printed by Wynkyn de Worde. But St. Bernard's testimony runs thus in the verse (Stanza 68):

"herynge of masse gyueth a grete rewarde,
goostly helth agayne all sekenesse,
and medyeyne recorde of Saynt Bernarde,
to people lnnoeent that playne for weykenesse,
to faythe refreshynghe in werynesse,
and to folke that gone in pylgrymage,
it maketh them stronge set them in sykenesse,
graciously to explete theyr vyage."

3943. Other portions assigned to Saint Augustine are nearly the same as in our text. Thus, Stanza 75:

"that daye a man deuoutly here masse,
whyle he is present he shall not wexe olde,
in goynge thyder his steppes more and lasse,
be of aungelles nombred and Itolde,
his uenyall synnes reckened many folde,
of neclygenee and othes that be lyght,
they be forgyuen, for grace passeth golde,
and all that tymē appereth not his syght."

76.

“herynge of masse letteth no vyage,
as it hath well be proued in certayne
prayers at masse dooth gretest auauntage
with crystes passyon to soules in theyr Payne.
the masse also dooth other thynges twayne,
to soule and body it dooth consolacyon,
if he passe that daye by dethe sodayne,
it standeth for his housell and communyoun.”

Also in the latter half of Stanza 79, though our text ascribes this opinion to St. Chrysostom :

“women also that gone on traueylyng,
folke experte haue founde thereof a prefe,
that haue herde masse in the mornynge,
were delyuered and felte no mysfchefe.”

And again in Stanza 81 :

“some folke affyrme in theyr opynyon,
and saye that they haue redde it in story ;
a masse is egall to crystes passyon,
to helpe soules out of pnygatory.”

And in 82 :

“no tyme is lost durynge that seruyse,
for whiche let no man playnly be in doute ;
but god shall dyspose in many wyse,
to encrease all thyng that they go aboute.”

P. 114, l. 3972. *or uthir gud dedis.* These words have slipped out of their place. They should come in after *almous*.

P. 115, l. 3991. *cloud*, apparently an error for *cloun*. But *clod* is sometimes used now in the sense of *clodhopper*.

Note to the Preface.—“The Booke of the Crafte of Dying” is in the Douce MSS. ccxxii. 13. I take this opportunity of mentioning that in the same MS., part 18, occurs a copy of “The six wise Masters discourse on tribulation,” which is printed with the “Bernardus de cura Rei familiaris,” and it is there ascribed to Adam, a Carthusian monk. There is also a copy of the discourse on Tribulation in Cott. Cleop. D. vii. leaf 187 v°.

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IN THE VERNON MS. AT OXFORD.

WITH AN APPENDIX, CONTAINING

“THE LYFE OF JOSEPH OF ARMATHY,” REPRINTED FROM THE
BLACK-LETTER COPY OF WYNKYN DE WORDE;

“DE SANCTO JOSEPH AB ARIMATHIA,” FIRST PRINTED
BY PYNSON A.D. 1516;

AND “THE LYFE OF JOSEPH OF ARMATHIA,”
FIRST PRINTED BY PYNSON A.D. 1520.

EDITED, WITH NOTES AND GLOSSARIAL INDICES,

BY THE

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P R E F A C E.

§ 1. My object, in this preface, is to give first of all a general description of the four pieces which this volume contains, and afterwards to discuss briefly the legend to which they all refer. And it may here be observed that the first piece in the book, viz. the alliterative poem, is the one which, as being of some curiosity and importance as well as hitherto *utterly unknown*, the Early English Text Society chiefly desired to publish. The other three pieces are reprints from scarce books, appended to give the volume more completeness.

ACCOUNT OF THE ALLITERATIVE POEM.

§ 2. The alliterative poem here for the first time printed came under my notice when editing the A-text of Piers the Plowman from the celebrated Vernon MS.¹ At p. xvii. of my preface to the A-text, I have stated that a leaf has been cut out of the Vernon MS. just where Piers the Plowman ends, and where some other poem begins. The missing leaf is No. 402. Now, in Mr Halliwell's description of the Vernon MS., the piece next to Piers the Plowman is called "Judas," and it is said to begin on leaf 403; but "Judas" does not really begin till we come to the 2nd column of the back of leaf 404. The contents of leaf 403 and of part of leaf 404 are thus left unaccounted for; and, as a hasty glance at the MS. shewed that I had fortunately lighted upon some unique piece with which no one seemed to be acquainted, it was well worth while to

¹ For a description of this MS., see P. Plowman, A-text; pref. p. xv.

secure a copy of it ; and an excellent transcript was accordingly made by Mr George Parker, assistant in the Bodleian Library, from which the copy now before the reader was printed, after careful revision by myself. In the footnote to p. xvii of the preface to the A-text of Piers the Plowman (already referred to) the *first* and *last* lines were inadvertently given as the *two first* lines, and the word *nouwe* was misprinted *nowe*.

§ 3. The poem being imperfect at the beginning, the next point was to ascertain how much has been lost. This depends upon the probable contents of the missing leaf preceding it in the Vernon MS., which again involves the question whether the Vernon MS. contained the very rare twelfth Passus of the A-text of Piers the Plowman. This twelfth Passus is indeed so rare that I have only been able to find *one perfect* copy of it, viz. that in MS. Rawl. Poet. 137, which was printed as a Supplement to the A-text, but issued to subscribers with the B-text, as it was, unfortunately, not discovered till the A-text copies had been issued. But the MS. in University College, Oxford, preserves the beginning of this Passus,¹ and there are special reasons why it is omitted in the Trinity MS. and in MS. Harl. 6041;² whilst of course it could not occur in MS. Harl. 875, the MS. in Lincoln's Inn, or in MS. Dublin D. 4. 12,³ which are all extremely imperfect at the end. The other MSS. of the A-text are not of much account. Considering these things, and remembering the extreme excellence of the Vernon MS., I think it almost certain that it must have contained the *whole* of the A-text, the twelfth Passus included. This would account for just exactly three columns of the missing leaf ; since, counting in the Latin lines, there are 135 lines missing from the eleventh passus, and 102 from the twelfth, and the title to the twelfth Passus would take up two lines more, giving 239 lines to fill up the 240 lines which three columns of the MS. contain. At this rate, the number of lines lost at the beginning of the piece now printed are as many as would fill a column. But as “Joseph of Aramatheie” is written out *like prose*, each column

¹ P. Plowman, A-text ; note on p. 154.

² P. Plowman, A-text ; preface, pp. xix, xx, xxi.

³ Id. preface : pp. xvii, xxii. Also B-text ; preface, p. vi, *note*.

averages about 96 or 97 lines ; i. e. *rather less than a hundred 'lines are lost*. Finally, as the extant portion of the poem begins not very far from the probable beginning, I have little doubt that this result is sufficiently near for practical purposes ; and, as nothing seems lost at the end (cf. note on p. 66), we have this result, viz. that our fragment contains the last 709 lines of an Early English Alliterative Poem which perhaps originally consisted of about 800 lines.

§ 4. I have said just above that the poem is written continuously, like prose. But that it is a genuine specimen of Alliterative verse was soon evident, and a little attention would soon have enabled me to divide it into lines of the right length. The scribe, however, has saved me the trouble, for he has marked off the whole poem into lines and half-lines (with tolerable correctness and only a few omissions) by the use of capital letters, paragraph-marks (¶), and metrical dots or periods ; and I may observe that he clearly regarded the metre as consisting of *long* lines, not *short* ones.¹ The second column on leaf 403 begins, for instance, thus :—(ll. 102—105)—

Do a wei þi Maumetes. þei han trayed þe ofte. Let breken hē
a two . and bren hem al to pouder. Schaltou neuer gete grace.
þorwȝ none suche goddes. ¶ þēne seis þe kyng. my wit mai
&c. &c.

I have carefully observed, however, the scribe's use of capital letters, and the reader will find, accordingly, some few lines beginning with a small letter. He should notice, at the same time, how carefully the scribe has avoided using a capital in the middle of a line. The cutting up of the poem into lines is the only liberty I have taken, though of course I am also responsible for the punctuation, for the use of hyphens, and the expansions of the contractions ; in all other respects the MS. is followed with scrupulous exactness. In the Glossarial Index, I have endeavoured to tabulate and explain every word which seemed worthy of note. Many of them, however, are more fully explained in Mr Morris's Glossary to his Early English Alliterative Poems, and in my Glossary to William of Palerne, to which the reader is referred.

§ 5. English poems in unrimed alliterative metre are compara-

¹ P. Plowman. A-text ; pref. p. xxvii.

tively rare. I know of only about twenty-three, and have given a complete list of these in my *Essay on Alliterative Poetry*, prefixed to vol. iii. of Bishop Percy's Folio MS., edited by Hales and Furnivall. Our present poem is there numbered 21, and is very inadequately described, as I did not then know much about it, and made no attempt to assign to it its right place. But it ought, chronologically, to stand very high in the list, certainly not lower than *fifth*, and probably *third*; this is what gives it its chief value. It is clearly one of the oldest pieces of alliterative poetry (since the Conquest) in existence. This is easily seen by its resemblance in language to “William of Palerne,” and I should place it *earlier* than “Piers the Plowman.” It can hardly be *later*, as it is found in the same MS. with the *earliest* copy of the *earliest* version of that poem. We may safely date it not later than A.D. 1360, but I prefer rather to date it about 1350, for its metre is of a more rugged and earlier character than even that of “William of Palerne.” And I may here pause to remark that the law of progress in alliterative poetry is from lines cast in a loose mould to lines cast in a strict one; from lines with *two* alliterated letters to lines with *three*, and in very late instances, to lines with *four*;¹ from lines with irregular feet to those in which extreme regularity makes the iteration of like initial sounds somewhat forced and monotonous. Of course some writers were more careless than others, but these principles may safely guide us to some extent, and the fact that *two* letters so frequently suffice to the alliteration in our fragment is decidedly a mark of antiquity. See, e.g. lines 2—11; the *sixth* line alone has *three* words beginning with the same letter. In l. 9, the *v* answers to *f*;² in l. 12, we have the unusual number of *four* rime-letters.

§ 6. Before proceeding to the subject-matter, it will be convenient to consider the dialect in which the poem is written. The remark in my “*Essay*,” that the best examples of alliterative metre

¹ P. Plowman, A-text; pref. p. xxii. Some of the latest examples of alliterative verse relapse into irregularity, owing to lack of skill on the part of the authors.

² This peculiarity I have nowhere else observed, except in Piers the Plowman and the Deposition of Richard II. In l. 448 of our poem we have *verreili* answering to *figure*; but the (Southern) scribe has changed *figure* into *vigore*.

are to be found in the *northern* and *western* dialects, holds true in the present instance, the southern forms in the poem being due to a southern scribe. But I would here wish to remind the reader that examples of mixed dialect require great caution. It is usual to assume that the admixture of dialectal forms is due to the scribe. But such is by no means necessarily the case. There are *three* solutions that will account for such a result, and not *one alone*. The three solutions are these. Either (1) the author may have tried to write in a dialect not his own ; or (2) he may have both spoken and written a mixed dialect ; or (3) the author may have composed in one dialect, whilst the scribe afterwards altered many of the author's forms to those of another dialect with which he was himself more familiar. Of course the third of these solutions is generally the true one, but it must not be universally adopted ; for examples of the other theories, though rare, are still actually to be found. The *first* theory is true for "Lancelot of the Laik" and for some poems by Scottish authors, who (such was the deference paid to Chaucer's language) actually affected Anglicisms, as has been pointed out by Mr J. A. H. Murray. The *second* theory is true for "Piers the Plowman," of which at least thirty MSS. are written in a *mixed* dialect,¹ which must have originated with the author. But, in the present case, the *third* or usual theory is obviously the right one ; for the southernizing tendencies of the scribe are well-known, from the numerous other pieces which he has written out ; whilst the more northern forms found must be original, owing to the known fact of alliterative poems being generally in a northern or western dialect. The poem was, I believe, originally in a West-Midland dialect, but its forms have been frequently altered by the Southern scribe. It is, therefore, all the more interesting to notice the non-southern forms which he has left intact. I proceed to give a general account of the forms found.

The plurals of the substantives end in *-es*, as *lippes*, 49 ;² but one

¹ P. Plowman, B-text; pref. p. xliii. In pref. to A-text, p. xvi, I have inadvertently assumed the Vernon MS. to be the best *in every respect*; I should have said, in every respect but the dialect, which the scribe has improved and made *more uniformly Southern*.

² The numbers refer to the lines.

plural ends in *-us*, viz. *gultus*, 249; and one in *-en*, viz. *honden*, 272. Other plurals worth notice are *winter*, 3; *nīȝt*, 6; *foote*, 14; *childre*, 493; *schon*, 423. There is one genitive plural in *-ene*, viz. *schalkene*, 510.

In the comparatives of adjectives and adverbs, the ending *-ore* (*-or*) is found, as: *dimmore*, 183; *lengore*, 137; *freschore*, 595; *feirore*, 649; *heuior*, 592. The same is found in the A-text of Piers Plowman, by the same scribe; cf. *febelore*, P. Pl. A. i. 160; *hardore*, i. 165. Observe also the form *ȝernloker*, 593.

As regards pronouns, we find *heo* or *he* for *she*, 83, 87; for *he*, 97; and for *they*, 283; the gen. pl. is *heore*, 18, or *here*, 30; the dat. pl. is *heom*, 130; the acc. pl. *hem*, 31. But we find also the nom. *þei*, 244. The acc. of *ȝe* (ye) is *ou* or *ow*; we find also *hise*, pl. 24; *þis*, pl. 29; *þo*, pl. 60; *vr* or *vre* (our), and *or* or *oure* (your); cf. P. Plowm. A. The word *selue*, pl. means *very*, 303.

The infinitive mood of verbs ends in *-en*, as *rikenen*, 76, but more commonly in *-e*, as *here*, 74, *fure*, 63; both forms are found close together, as *lendlen* and *lihte*, 81. I have observed no infinitives in *-ie* or *-y* (Southern forms), but the Northern form *ha* (for *have*) occurs twice, 351, 578. In the present tense, the 2nd pers. sing. ends in *-est*, as *berest*, 40; but we find also *þou ȝemes*, 310, *þou wendes*, 420. The 3rd pers. sing. ends in *-es*, as *askes*, 7, *biddes*, 22, *spekes*, 38; but we find also *greteþ*, 347, *bereþ*, 396; cf. *me þinkeþ*, 6, with *me forþinkes*, 487. The plural ends in *-en* or *-e*, as *folewen*, 8, *carpen*, 175, *carke*, 30; but we actually find *-es* in *bydes*, 468. I have my doubts about *ȝe clepeþ* (379) being the genuine reading, though *beþ* occurs in l. 409. In the past tense, 2nd person, we find *-est* in *souȝtest*, *codest*, 4, *lengedest*, 429; but observe *þou souȝtes*, 431, *þou slouȝ*, 433, *þou come*, 434, *þou toke*, 438; and note how *þou wast* (425) is changed to *þou weore*, 428. In l. 223 we find *þou for-ȝaf*. The following are examples of the past tense singular, most of which may be found in the glossary; STRONG VERBS,¹ DIVISION I, CLASS I, *bar*, *bad*, *breek*, *ȝaf*, *heold*, *lay*, *speek*, *com*; CLASS III, *stod* (359), *tok*; DIV. II, CLASS I, *to-barst*, *fond*, *halp*, *starf*; CLASS II, *ros* (268); CLASS III, *bed*, *fleyȝ*, *lees*, *say* (*sayȝ*, *scȝe*, *sauh*, *seiȝ*,

¹ See Specimens of Early English, ed. Morris.

*seih), tei (teiȝ) ;—WEAK VERBS, *hopede*, 59, *lente*, *sende*, *laſte*, *heilde*, *þouȝte*. The plural generally ends in *-en* or *-e*, as *ladden*, *lengede*, 16 ; but we sometimes find the final *-e* dropped, as in *bosked*, *vn-housed* (before *hem*, 13, 455). Now if we compare the present poem with the schemes of conjugation of regular and irregular West-Midland verbs in Mr Morris's preface to his edition of Early English Alliterative Poems, we can find examples of nearly all the endings which he gives, as thus. Regular Verbs, pres. sing. *þonke*, *wendes*, *askes* ; pl. *carpen*, *mene[n]*, *melen* ; past sing. *wepte*, *souȝtes*, *fulwede* ; pl. *passeden*. Irregular Verbs, pres. sing. *hete*, —, *fonges* ; pl. *slen* ; past tense, —, (*þou*) *for-ȝaf*, *bad* ; pl. *flouen*. Even still more significant are the endings in *-es* in the plural of the imperative mood, which in a Southern dialect would become *-eþ* ; yet the scribe gives us *gos*, *proues*, 373, *holdes*, 492, *þenkes*, 493. The present participles have the Southern endings *-inge* or *-inde*, as *honginge*, 205, *cominge*, 206, *romynge*, 275, *stremyng*e, 560, *comyng*e, 562, *lenginde*, 20, *bourynde*, 294, *folowynde*, 551. There are also examples of nouns substantive in *-ing*, as *crucifing*, 241, *lustnyng*e, 164, *comyng*e, 421, *schindringe*, 513. The past participles of strong verbs end in *-en*, as *hoten*, *holken*, *stiken*, *bounden*, *taken*, *nomen*. In P. Plowman (A) we often find *d* altered to *t* in the past participles of weak verbs, and the scribe has frequently made the same alteration here ; as in *werret*, *scapet*, *I-bosket*, *a-bascht*, *haspet*, *Iugget* (251), *braset*, *a-semblet*, *wondet*, *wemmet*. We even find the same in the past tense, as in *foulet*, 12. This peculiarity occurs even in nouns, as *fert*, *þousent*, *bert*, *wynt*, for *ferd*, *þousend*, *berd*, *wynd*. Past participles are generally found without the prefix *I-*, but we have also *I-ben*, *I-blesset*, &c. ; a list of these being given in the Glossary. We find *Ichul*, *icholle*, for *ich wol*, *ich wolde*; and the second personal pronoun joined on to the verb, as in *hastou*, *hettestou*, *trouwestou*, *woldestou*. Verbs occur with the negative prefix, as *nis*, *nare*, *nas*, *nul*, *nedden*, *nuste*, for *ne is*, *ne are*, *ne was*, *ne wol*, *ne hedden*, *ne wuste*. The free use of negatives is well exemplified by the l.*

to-hurles; only in the last case (*al to-hurles*) is the adverb *al* superadded. Other noteworthy points are the occurrence of *weppe* (not *wep*) as the past tense of *wepen*, 647; whilst besides *fel*, as the past tense of *fallen*, we find the curious form *felde*, shewing that the correct reading of the puzzling line in Havelok (2698) is probably—*þat he [ne] felden so dos þe gres*—i. e. that they did not *fall* as does the grass. We may also note the use of *was* for *who was*, 19; *enes*, *atenes*; the verb *worþe*, 146; *forte* for *forto* (as in P. Pl. A.); *boto*, 300, beside the full form *boþe two*, 697; the phrase *þreo maner enkes*, 194; *no-skunus* for *nos kunes*; *eornen* for *rennen*, 275, &c. The numerous forms from the verb *ben* (to be) are given in the Glossary; thus we find in the pl. indic. present *ben*, *beon*, *beþ*, *beoþ*, and *aren*. *Bi* is written for *be*, as in William of Palerne; but a still more remarkable form is *he beos*, 216, which is quite a Northern form. So also is *out-wiþ* for *wiþ-out*. Some of the words in the Glossary most worthy of remark are *allynge*, *blencheden*, *boskes*, *bounen*, *carke*, *demayen*, *derue*, *faus*, *felde*, *feye*, *flote*, *folfulsened*, *for-set*, *geyn*, *greiþli*, *gretnede*, *inne* (vb.), *keueren*, *limpe*, *luttulde*, *mallen*, *note*, *of-fonȝten*, *of-scuteder*, *out-wiþ*, *pallede*, *res*, *roungede*, *schalkene*, *schindringe*, *seyne*, *slaught*, *sound*, *sporn*, *sputison*, *teis*, *teiȝ*, *þroly*, *vmbe*, *vnsauht*, *wasscheles*, *waves*, *whappede*, *whucche*, *wuestest*, and several others. It is a piece well worth attention from a philological point of view, as well as for its curiosity.

§ 7. The five principal Arthurian Romances are set down in the following order by Sir F. Madden, in his “Syr Gawayne,” Pref. p. x.¹

1. “The History of the Holy Graal,” which tells of Joseph of Arimathea, and how he brought the holy vessel² to England.
2. “Merlin.”
3. “Lancelot of the Lake.”
4. “The Quest of the Holy Graal.”
5. “Le Mort Artus,” or “Morte Darthur.”

¹ See Mr Furnivall's Introduction to “Merline,” in Bishop Percy's Folio MS., ed. Hales and Furnivall, vol. i. p. 411.

² “This, said he [Christ] is the holy dish wherein I ate the lamb on Shertursday;” Malory's Morte Darthur ed. Sir E. Strachey, bk. xvii. ch. 20.

Our poem contains only the earlier portion of the *first* of these, and its contents may be thus epitomized. The portion within square brackets is lost.

[After our Lord's entombment, Joseph of Arimathea was seized by the Jews, and imprisoned in a dungeon without a window, where he remained for forty-two years, till released by Vespasian.] After his release, he tells Vespasian that the time of his imprisonment has seemed but three days. Being first baptized himself, he proceeds to baptize Vespasian and fifty others; after which Vespasian wreaks vengeance on the Jews who had imprisoned Joseph. In obedience to a divine voice, Joseph, with his wife, his son Josephes (or Josaphe) and a company of fifty people, leaves Jerusalem, and arrives at Sarras, taking with him the Holy Graal, or Sacred Dish containing Christ's blood, which is carried inside an ark or box. Joseph tries to convert Evalak, the king of Sarras, at the same time declaring the doctrine of the Trinity. The king provides for the wants of Joseph's company, but has his doubts about the truth of the doctrine. The following night, he is converted by two visions. In the first he sees three stems growing from one trunk, and appearing to coalesce into one; an emblem of the Trinity in Unity.¹ In the second he sees a child pass through a solid wall without any injury to the wall, an emblem of Christ's spotless Incarnation. Josaphe, the son of Joseph, also sees a vision; for, on peering into the Grail-Ark, he beholds Christ upon the cross, and five angels with the instruments of the Passion; afterwards appear eleven more angels, whilst Christ seems to descend from the cross, and to stand beside an altar, upon the one end of which are the Lance and Three Nails, and upon the other the DISH WITH THE BLOOD (the HOLY GRAIL). Christ then ordains Josaphe bishop, and bids him go to Evalak's palace. A clerk is appointed by King Evalak to dispute with Joseph, but is miraculously struck dumb, whilst at the same time his eyes fly out of his head. Evalak repairs to a temple of idols, hoping to secure the clerk's recovery, but the idols are

¹ "After a while the three trees touched one another, then began to incorporate and confound their several natures in a single trunk."—*Legend of the Cross*, in Curious Myths of the Middle Ages, by S. Baring-Gould; ii. 117.

powerless. Soon after, a messenger arrives to tell Evalak that his land has been invaded by Tholomer, king of Babylon, whereupon Evalak prepares for war. Before he sets out, Joseph and Josaphe have a private interview with Evalak, wherein Joseph tells the king that he is acquainted with all his previous history, after which Josaphe gives Evalak a shield with a red cross upon it, telling him to pray to Christ in the hour of peril. In the first encounter, Tholomer's men are successful, but lose their tents. Evalak then collects more men, and is joined by his wife's brother, Seraphe, with five hundred men. In the next battle, king Evalak and duke Seraphe perform wonders, but at last Seraphe is wounded sorely, and Evalak made prisoner. As Evalak is being led to death, he remembers Josaphe's advice ; he uncovers the shield with the red cross, and prays to Christ. An angel comes to the rescue, in the outward form of a White Knight, who slays Tholomer, heals Seraphe, mounts Evalak upon Tholomer's horse, and helps him to achieve a complete victory ; after which he vanishes away. Meanwhile Joseph has an interview with Evalak's queen, who was at heart a Christian, and whose early history is related. Evalak returns home, and is baptized, being named Mordreins ; Seraphe is also baptized, with the name of Naciens. Joseph further baptizes five thousand of Evalak's subjects, and abides at Sarras, whilst Josaphe and Naciens set out upon a missionary journey, the Holy Grail being left at Sarras, in the charge of two of Joseph's company. The poem here ceases, with a brief reference to the subsequent imprisonment of Josaphe by the king of North Wales, and his release by Mordreins (Evalak).

The real subject of the story is therefore the adventures of Joseph of Arimathea at the court of Evalak, king of Sarras, with the episode of king Evalak's shield. The object of the poet clearly was to translate so much of the legend of "Joseph" as most pleased his fancy, and we may allow that he has fairly acquitted himself in the task. Though following in the main a French original, he seems to have had a fair command of language ; many of his lines are terse and striking, and he seems to be particularly at home in describing battle scenes ; see e. g. ll. 498—517, 531—534, 584—600. Such lines as

Schou schene vppon schaft · schalkene blod (510),
 Al to-hurles þe helm · and þe hed vnder (533),
 and
 Wiþ þe deþ in his hals · dounward he duppies (534),
 are really good ; and there is a very sufficient vigour in the expression
 maden þer a siker werk · and slowen hem vp clene¹ (605).

§ 8. The story of Evalak's shield is related to Galahad by "the white knight" in the Romance of the Quest of the Saint Graal, from whence it was inserted by Malory in his "Morte Darthur," book xiii, ch. 10. I here give the original version of it from "La Queste del Saint Graal" (supposed to have been written by Walter Map) as edited by Mr Furnivall for the Roxburghe Club in 1864; pp. 27—30.

"Galaad," fait li chualers, "il auint apres la <sup>42 years after
Christ's death,
Joseph of
Arimathaea and
his relatives</sup> passion notre singnour .xlvi. ans, que ioseph d'abari-mathie, li gentiex chualers qui despendi notre seignour de la crois, se parti de la chite de iherusalem entrui grant partie de ses parens. Et tant errerent par le commandement de notre signour qu'il vinrent en la chite de sarras que li rois Eualac, qui lors yert sarrasins, tenoit a chel fans que Ioseph y uint. Auint que li rois eualac gerroia .j. sien voisín, riche homme. Tholomes ot non, quant eualac se fu apprestes sour tholomes, que sa terre li demandoit, Josaphes li fíex ioseph lui dist, 'que s'il aloit en bataille si desconseillies comme il estoit, qu'il seroit desconfis. Et honnis par son anemi.' 'Et que m'en loes vous,' dist Eualac. 'che vous dirai jou bien' fait il, lors li commencha a traire auant les poins de la nouuele loy, et la veritei des Euwangeles. et del crucifiement notre signour. et del resussitement de ihesu crist lui dist la veritei. et lui fist un escu ou quel il fist vne crois de chendal, et li dist, 'rois Eualac, ore te mousterrai appartement comment tu porras connoistre la forche et la virtu du urai eruchefi. Et il est voirs² que tholomes ara sour toi soignourie iij. jours et iij. nus. Et tant te fera que me te mettra juskies a paour de mort. Mais quant tu verras que tu ne porras escaper, lors descouerras la <sup>went by God's
command to
Sarras, the city of
King Evalach,</sup> <sup>who was warring
against Tholome,</sup> <sup>and Josephes
tells Evalach
that if he fights
as he is, he will
be beaten by his
enemy;</sup> <sup>to prevent which,
Josephes ex-
pounds the
Christian faith
to him, and
makes him a
shield with a
cross of red
cendal on it,</sup> <sup>which, when in
fear of death, he
is to uncover, and
to pray to Christ.</sup>

¹ It is to be regretted that so many of our early poets are nameless. All that can be done is to investigate if any two poems are by the same author. The author of "William of Palerne" could have written lines like these, but there is too much dissimilarity in the metre to admit of the identification.

² MS. vous.

crois. et diras, biaus sires diex, de la qui mort je poch le signe, Jetes moi sain et sauf de chest camp. a recheuoir uotre foy et votre creanche.' a tant s'en parti li roys Eualac, et ala a host sour tholomes. Et il li auint tout ensi comme chil li dist. Quant il se vit en tel peril qu'il quidoit vraiment mourir, il descouuri son escu. Et vit en milieu vn homme crucifie qui tous estoit sanglens, si dist les paroles que josaphas li auoit enseignies, dont il ot victorie et houneur. Et fu jetes des mains a sen anemi. Et vint au dessus de tholomes. Et de tous ses hoummes. Et quant il fu reuenus a sa chitei a sarras : si dist au peuple la veritei qu'il auoit trouuee en josephée. Et manifesta tant l'entree des crestiens, que nasciens rechut batesme. Et en che qu'il se crestienoit, auint ke vns hons passoit par devant aus qui auoit le poing caupe. et portoit son poing en s'autre main, et josephes l'apela od soy et chil y uint. Et si tost comme il ot atouchiet a la crois qui en l'escu estoit. Si se trouua iehil tous garis del poing qu'il auoit perdu, et encore en auint il vne autre auenture mult merueilleuse : que li crois que en l'escu estoit, se parti, et s'aliert au brach d'enemie en tel maniere que ains puis ne fu veue en l'escu. Lors rechut eualac baptesme. et deuint serians Jesu crist. et ot puis notres sires en grant amour et en grant reuerence. et fist garder l'escu mout signourieusement. apres auint quant iosephes se fu partis de sarras, entre lui et son pere. et il furent venu en la grant bertaigne. si trouuerent j. roy. Cruel et felon. qui andeus les enprisouna, et od lui grant partie de crestiens. quant josephes fu en prisounes. Tost en ala lonch la nouuele. Car allours n'auoit homme el monde de greignour renoumee. Et tantost comme li rois mordains en oy parler. si semonst ses hommes et ses gens, entre lui et nascien son serouge. Et s'en uinrent. En la grant bertainge sour chelui roy qui iosephe tenoit en prison, et les destrainsent et confundirent tous chiaus du pais, si que en la terre fu espandue sainte crestientes. Et il amerent tant iosephe qu'il ne s'en vaurrent partir del pais. ains remensem auoce lui. Et li seruoient en tous les lieus ou il aloit. Et quant che fu coze que iosephes fu au lit mortel. Eualac eounut qu'il li couuenoit partir de chest siecle. et vint devant lui, si ploura mult tenrement. Et dist, 'sire, puis ke vous me laissies, ore remainrai Je ausi comme tous seus en chest pais, ke pour l'amor de nous auoie ma terre laissie et ma nascion, pour dieu, puis k'il vous couuient partir de chest siecle, laissies moi de vous

This Eualach does when in danger of death in battle; sees a bleeding crucified man on the Shield, and gains the victory thereby.

On his return to Sarras, Eualach tells his people of Josephes' truth, and Nasciens is baptised.

The Shield and Cross also restore a man his lost hand,

and the Cross disappears and reappears on the Shield.

Eualach is then baptised,

and Josephes and his father come to Great Britain and are imprisoned.

On which Merdreins (or Eualach) and Nasciens invade Britain, and free Joseph,

and remain and serve him.

On his deathbed Eualach asks him

aucune ensaigne qui apres vous me fache ramenbranche.'

'Sire,' fist iosephes, 'je le vous ferai.' Iors com
mencha a penser quel cose il li porroit ballier. et
quant il ot grant pieche pense, si dist. 'rois Mordains,
fai moi aporter ichel escu que jou te ballai quant tu
alas en la bataille sour tholomes.' Et li rois le fist, ensi
comme chil qui le faisoit porter od soi en tous les lieus
ou il aloit, si fist aporter l'escu: a chel point qu'il fu
aportes, auint k'il saina mult durement parmi le nes, si
que iosephes ne pooit estankier. et il prist maintenant
l'escu, et j fist de chelui meisme sanc vne crois, si com
vous le vees. Et bien sachies que ch'est chil escus
meismes dont ie vous cont que vous portes. Et quant
il ot faite la crois telle comme vous poes vecoir. il li
dist, 'ves chi chest escu ke je vous laisse en ramem-
branche de moy. Car vous saues bien que ceste crois
est faite de mon sanc. Si sera tous iours ausi freche et
ausi uermelle comme vous le poes ore-endroit vecoir.
tant comme li escus durra. ne il ne faura mie tost pour
chou que nus iamais a son col ne le pendera pour qu'il
soit chiualers qu'il ne s'en repenche. Juskes a tant que
galaad li boins chiualers, li derrains del linaige naciens,
le pendera au sien col. Et pour chou ne soit nus si
hardis qui a son col le pende, se chil non a qui dieus l'a
destineie. Si ra telle occoison, que tout ausi comme en
l'escu ont este veuwes meruelles grandes plus que
autres, tout ausi verra on en lui meruelleuses proueches.
Et plus haute uie que en autre chiualer.' 'Pvis qu'il
est ensi,' fait li rois, 'ke si boine ramenbranche me
laires, dont me dites, si'l vous plaist, ou jou lairai chest
escu. Car jou uaurroie mout qu'il fuist mis eu tel lieu
ou li boins chiualers le trouuaist.' 'Dont vous dirai
je,' fait iosephes, 'que vous feres la ou nasciens se pria
mettre apres sa mort, si metes l'escu, car illoec uenra li
boins chiualers au chieunquisme iour qu'il aura rechut
l'ordene de cheualerie.' si est tout ensi auenu com il
dit. Car al quint iour que uous fustes chiualers,
venistes vous en ceste abeie ou naciens gist. si vous ai
ore tout contei, pour queles auentures sont auenes as
chiualers plains de fol quidier qui sour cestui defense,
et voloient porter l'escu qui a lui ni ert otroies, fors que
a vous." quant il ot tout chou contei, si s'esuanui en tel
maniere qu'il ne sot qu'il hiert deuenus. ne de quel
part il ert tourneis.

for some
remembrance
of him.
Joseph tells him
to bring the
Shield, and, when
it is brought,
Joseph bleeds at
the nose,

and makes a
cross with his
blood on the
Shield,
and tells
Mordreins he
will leave him
the Shield in
remembrance of
him,

but no one is to
hang it on his
neck till Galahad
comes.

Mordreins asks
where he shall
leave the Shield,

and Joseph says,
in the place
where Nasciens
is buried,

for Galahad shall
come on the fifth
day after he is
knighted.

The White
Knight vanishes
when he has told
this history.

§ 9. ACCOUNT OF THE PROSE "LYFE OF JOSEPH."

The "Lyfe of Joseph of Armathy," printed by Wynkyn de Worde,¹ corresponds tolerably closely to the account of his Life as given in Capgrave's "Nova Legenda Angliae," who perhaps borrowed it from John of Glastonbury; see Hearne's "Johannis Glastoniensis Chronica." Capgrave's work is known to be principally taken from John of Tynemouth, but I have not been able to ascertain whether he took from him the legend of Joseph in particular. If it be not found in John of Tynemouth, then the probability of Capgrave having here followed John of Glastonbury becomes almost a certainty. The first part of the story, down to p. 30, l. 23, follows the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus; of the rest, the original Latin is quoted at length from Capgrave, and collated with Hearne's edition of John of Glastonbury, in the Note on p. 68. This account by John of Glastonbury seems to have been made up from several sources, and the whole matter is well treated in Archbishop Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," printed at Dublin in 1639. This work enables us to trace some of these sources, more or less exactly. Thus, in the latter part of the account, printed on pp. 68—70, the portion from "Post hec" to "galias venit" (p. 69, l. 1) is quoted by Ussher (p. 16) as extant in a great table (*ingens tabula*) of Glastonbury antiquities in the possession of William, son of Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk. The next piece, from "Dispersis enim" down to "prefecit" (p. 69, l. 7) is from William of Malmesbury; see Gul. Malmesb. de Antiq. Glaston. Ecclesiae, p. 5, included in Hearne's edition of Adam de Domerham; Oxon. 1727. The next piece, from "Venerunt" to "rege aruirago" (p. 69, l. 35) professes to be from the book which is called the Holy Graal ("Sanctum Graal"); cf. Ussher, p. 17, where the "Sanctum Graal" is also referred to. The next piece, from "anno ab incarnacione" down to "fidelium" (p. 70, l. 22), is again from William of Malmesbury, with the exception of the four verses, which Ussher calls "barbari illi ver-

¹ See the description in Herbert's Ames, vol. i. p. 232

siculi, ex Chronicis quibusdam de rege Arvirago agentibus citati" (Brit. Ecl. Ant. p. 16). A portion of this passage is also quoted, from the Glastonbury records, by John of Tynemouth (Ussher, p. 18). The succeeding paragraph is founded upon the Arthur romances, as John of Glastonbury himself tells us. He cites the passage "where a certain hermit expounds to Walwain the mystery of a certain fountain;" and a second passage from near the beginning of the Quest (*inquisitio*) of the Seint Graal, where "a white knight relates to Galahad the mystery of a certain wonderful shield." The former of these references I cannot verify; but it probably is to be found in one of the later Romances, perhaps in Lancelot. The latter is the identical passage from the "Queste" printed above, p. xvii.

After this, we have an extract from Melkin,¹ of whom nothing seems to be known except that he lived before Merlin, although Spelman is bold enough to say that he flourished about A.D. 550; see Spelman's "Concilia, &c. in re ecclesiarum orbis Britanniei," vol. i. p. 6. This passage is also found in MSS. Cotton, Titus D. vii, fol. 29 *b*, and Arundel 220, fol. 274; but the MSS. have in addition the paragraph "Ex quo apostoli," &c., printed on p. 71, which nearly agrees with the account in John of Tynemouth; see Ussher, pp. 18 and 974.

The point where this "Lyfe of Joseph" ceases to follow John of Glastonbury is marked by note 12 on p. 69. The remaining eight lines briefly refer to the story of Celydomus or Celydoine as told in the Romance of the Seynt Graal; see the notes on p. 67.

§ 10. ACCOUNT OF THE PIECE "DE SANCTO JOSEPHI."

This, the third piece in the volume, is from "The Kalendre of the New Legende of Englande," printed by Pynson in 1516, and described in Herbert's Ames, vol. i. p. 261. It is a mere epitome of Capgrave's account; see the notes on p. 72.

¹ Printed also in Johannis Glastoniensis Chroniea, ed. Hearne, p. 30. Melkin is possibly the same as "Mewynus, the Bryton chronicler," mentioned in Hardyng's Chronicle, ch. l., and in ch. xlivi, where MSS. have the various readings *Nerwinus*, *Nenius*, and *Neninus*; which look very like Nennius.

§ 11. ACCOUNT OF THE VERSE “LYFE OF JOSEPH.”

This piece was printed by Pynson in 1520, and is a rather singular one. It was composed either in the year 1502 or soon after,¹ by some one very familiar with Glastonbury, and with the most evident object of encouraging all men to make offerings at the shrine of St Joseph; we may therefore feel tolerably sure that the author was a monk of Glastonbury. A short account of it is given in Hazlitt's Handbook of Early English Literature, p. 312.

The title-page (p. 35) bears the arms of Glastonbury, thus described by Ussher (*Britan. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 29), who quotes from the account given by William Good, a Jesuit born at Glastonbury in the reign of Henry VIII. “Antiqua arma Glastoniensis Monasterii . . . sunt hujusmodi. Scutum album, in quo per longum erigitur stipes crucis viridis & nudosæ, & de latere ad latus extenduntur brachia seu rami crucis stipiti consimilia. Sparguntur guttæ sanguinis per omnem aream scuti. Utrinque ad latera stipitis, & sub alis crucis, ponitur ampulla inaurata. Et hæc semper denominabantur insignia Sancti Josephi, qui ibi habitasse piè credebatur, & fortassè sepultus esse.” The knotted cross evidently refers to the legend of St Joseph's thorny staff, the drops of blood denote his receiving the blood of Christ in the Holy Grail, and the two cruets (as they are called in l. 32 of the poem) are the “duo fassula” mentioned in the book of Melkin (see p. 70, l. 3 from the bottom), which resulted from the duplication of the Grail of the original legend.

The poem is written in eight-line stanzas, and the metre is as poor as in most of the poems of the reign of Henry VII. In the first 216 lines, we have an account similar to that in Capgrave, the “Graal” portion of the story commencing at l. 113 and ending at l. 192. The latter part of the poem is a special appeal to the faithful to visit St Joseph's shrine, and recites the numerous miracles which had just taken place, chiefly in the month of April, 1502. Several places in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury are mentioned, viz. Dolting, Wells, Banwell, Ilchester, Yeovil, Milborne Port,

¹ See the notes to ll. 234 and 289.

Comton, and Pilton. Of these, "Dulting" and "Piltune" are mentioned in the Charter of King Ini which contains grants to Glastonbury Abbey.¹ The author proves Glastonbury to be the "holiest erth of england" (l. 369), by appealing to a story in the life of St David; cf. note on p. 73. This story is told by William of Malmesbury; see Hardy's edition, vol. i. p. 38, Gale's edition, vol. i. p. 299, or p. 30 of the Rev. J. Sharpe's translation; or it may be read in John of Glastonbury, ed. Hearne, p. 2. It is also repeated in an inscription upon a metal plate formerly affixed to a column which was erected to mark the exact size of the chapel at Glastonbury before St David added the chancel to it. A *facsimile* of this inscription is given at p. 9 of Spelman's "Concilia," &c. tom. i.; it is also printed in Hearne's History and Antiquities of Glastonbury, p. 118; see also p. 20. Lastly, the author alludes to the marvellous walnut-tree, growing "hard by the place where kynge Arthur was founde," and the three hawthorn-trees at Werrall or Weary-all-hill; although the story is generally told of *one* such tree only, *the* Glastonbury thorn,² which grew up on the spot where St Joseph stuck his staff of hawthorn-wood into the ground after his arrival. He then concludes with "A Praysyng to Joseph," and an Officium.³

§ 12. GLASTONBURY ABBEY, AND THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO BRITAIN.

This is not the place to enter into a subject so full of interest as the history of Glastonbury Abbey; but I may at least observe that the very first page of Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* contains an account which assumes the truth of the legend of the arrival in Britain of Joseph of Arimathea, as well as of several other statements in John of Glastonbury. It is therefore worth while to quote it in connection with the present subject.

¹ Printed in *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. T. D. Hardy, vol. i. p. 51.

² See an engraving of it in Knight's *Old England*, vol. i. p. 133, and a notice of the legend at p. 131. See also Chambers' *Book of Days*, vol. ii. p. 758; Hearne's *History and Antiquities of Glastonbury*; Collinson's *History of Somersetshire*, vol. ii. p. 265; Brand's *Antiquities*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, vol. iii. 358, &c.

³ There is an Officium somewhat like this printed in Hearne's edition of John of Glastonbury, p. 4; see also the *Acta Sanctorum*, xvii Martii.

Dugdale's account commences as follows :

" About sixty-three years after the Incarnation of our Lord, St Joseph of Arimathea, accompanied by eleven other disciples of St Philip, was despatched by that Apostle into Britain, to introduce in the place of barbarous and bloody rites, long exercised by the bigotted and besotted druids, the meek and gentle system of Christianity. They succeeded in obtaining from Arviragus, the British king, permission to settle in a small island, then rude and uncultivated, and to each of the twelve was assigned for his subsistence, a certain portion of land called a hide, comprising a district, denominated to this day THE TWELVE HIDES OF GLASTON. Their boundaries, as well as the names of the principal places contained in them, will be found in the Appendix¹ (nos. i. and ii.). They enjoyed all the immunities of regal dignity, from ancient times and the first establishment of christianity in this land. One peculiar privilege which this church possessed by the grant of king Canute (App. num. lxvi.), was that no subject could enter this district without the permission of the abbot and convent. It now includes the following parishes ; Glastonbury St Benedict, Glastonbury St John, Baltonsbury, Bradley, Mere, West-Pennard, and North-Wotton.

" The name by which the island was distinguished by the Britons was *Ynswytryn*, or the Glassy Island, from the colour of the stream which surrounded it. Afterwards it obtained the name of *Avallon*, either from *Aval*, an apple, in which fruit it abounded ; or from *Avallon*, a British chief, to whom it formerly belonged. The Saxons finally called it *Glaesting-byrig*.

" Here St Joseph, who is considered by the monkish historians as the first abbot, erected, to the honour of the Virgin Mary, of wreathed twigs, the first Christian oratory in England."

In this account, the word *Ynswytryn* should rather be spelt *Ynswrytryn*, the former element being the Welsh *ynys*, or Gaelic *innis* (sometimes corrupted into *inch*), an island, whilst the latter is connected with the Welsh *gwydr*, Latin *vitrum*. The Welsh word for *apple* is *afal*, whilst *afallwyn*, an orchard, comes still closer to *Avalon*; but the derivation is, perhaps, doubtful. The word is spelt *Aualun* in *Laȝamon*, vol. iii. p. 144.² The Saxon name should

¹ I.e. the Appendix to the *Monasticon*.

² "This fair Avalon—

'Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies
Deep-meadow'd, happy, fair with orchard-lawns
And bowery hollows crown'd with summer sea,'

is the Isle of the Blessed of the Kelts. Tzetze and Procopius attempt to

be spelt Glaesting-a-burig, where Glaestinga is a genitive plural, so that the word means “the borough of the sons of Glest;” this disposes of the supposition that *glaes* (glass) corresponds to the Welsh element *-wytryn*, yet the coincidence is certainly curious. The chief point to be noticed about Glastonbury Abbey is its proved antiquity, even if the story of the coming of Joseph be set aside. “Canterbury and York have no connection with the early British Church; but go to Glastonbury, and there what people simply dream of in other places becomes a real and living fact. Somersetshire between Axe and Parret was conquered by the Christian Cenwealh; Somersetshire beyond Parret was conquered by the famous lawgiver Ine. Unlike their forefathers in their heathen days, but exactly like the Christian Teutons in their continental conquests, the West-Saxon conquerors now spared, honoured, and enriched the great ecclesiastical establishment of the conquered. The ancient church of wood or wicker, which legend spoke of as the first temple reared on British soil to the honour of Christ, was preserved as a hallowed relic, even after a greater church of stone was built by Dunstan to the east of it. And though not a fragment of either of those buildings still remains, yet each alike is represented in the peculiar arrangements of that mighty and now fallen minster. The wooden church of the Briton is represented by the famous Lady Chapel, better known as the chapel of Saint Joseph; the stone church of the West-Saxon is represented by the vast Abbey church itself. Nowhere else can we see the works of the conquerors and the works of the conquered thus standing, though but in a figure, side by side. Nowhere else, among all the churches of England, can we find one which can thus trace up its uninterrupted being to the days before the Teuton had set foot upon British soil. The legendary burial-place of Arthur, the real burying-place of Eadgar and the two Eadmunds, stands

localize it, and suppose that the Land of Souls is Britain; but in this they are mistaken; as also are those who think to find Avalon at Glastonbury. Avalon is the Isle of Apples—a name reminding one of the Garden of the Hesperides in the far western seas, with its tree of golden apples in the midst.”—*The Fortunate Isles*; in Curious Myths of the Middle Ages, by S. Baring-Gould, vol. ii. p. 270.

alone among English minsters as the one link which really does bind us to the ancient Church of the Briton and the Roman.”¹

In like manner, the real significance of the legend of St Joseph seems to me to be this, that the first missionaries of Christianity actually arrived in Britain at an early period, although (as will appear presently) this supposition rests upon mere guess, and is unsupported by any evidence. The question of the first introduction of Christianity into Britain has been frequently discussed, and Gildas, in particular, has been appealed to as saying that it was introduced in the time of Tiberius, whereas he says nothing of the kind. Various attempts have been made to establish a probability that Christian missionaries had really arrived here before the time of the supposed conversion of king Lucius (*Beda, Eccl. Hist. Bk. i. ch. 4*), the date of which has been settled by twenty-six writers in as many ways.² Mr Beale Poste, for instance, in his *Britannic Researches*, pp. 385—410, contends that the mission of Aristobulus is undoubtedly the best authenticated as the first which took place, this Aristobulus being the same as is mentioned by St Paul in *Romans xvi. 10*. It should be added that, according to some legends, Aristobulus died in the year 99, and was buried at Glastonbury. Welsh traditions say that Arwystli Hên (Aristobulus the old) accompanied the family of Caradog (*Caractaeus*) on their return to Britain; see the *History of Wales*, by Jane Williams, pp. 29 and 41, where numerous references are given; cf. Ussher’s *Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* (otherwise called Ussher’s *Primordia*), p. 9. The notion that the first missionary to Britain was, however, no other than St Joseph himself, is stoutly maintained by Broughton, in his *Ecclesiastical Historie of Great Britaine*, 1633. He cites many authorities and has said nearly all that can be said in support of the legend. The headings of some of his chapters will sufficiently indicate his conclusions.

“ Age i. ch. xxi. Of the coming of S. Joseph of Aramatia, who buried Christ, into this our Britaine; And how it is made doubtfull, or denied by many writers, but without either reason or Authoritie.”

¹ From “The Origin of the English Nation,” by E. A. Freeman, in Macmillan’s Magazine, May, 1870, p. 41.

² Note by Sir T. Duffus Hardy in his edition of *William of Malmesbury*.

"Ch. xxii. Wherein is proved by all kinde of testimonies, and authorities, that for certaine, S. Joseph of Aramatia, with diuers other holy Associates, came into, preached, lyned, dyed, and was buried in Britayne, at the place now called Glastenbury in Summershire." . . .

"Ch. xxv. That many other Christians came hither, especially into the Northren parts, and Ilands, with S. Joseph of Aramatia, besides them which continued with him at Glastenbury; and many of them married with Britans continuing Christianitie heare in their children and posterite, vntill the generall Conuerse of Britaine, vnder the first Christian Kings, Lucius, & Donaldus."

He does not omit to mention the miraenlous trees, and he expresses himself much to the same effect in his "Monastichon Britannicum," 1655, and in his "True Memorial of the Ancient, most holy, and Religious State of Great Britain," 1650; which two books differ in nothing but their title-page.

On the whole, I see no great difficulty in believing that some Christian missionaries had arrived in Britain, and that a rude kind of chapel had been erected at Glastonbury, before the close of the second century, or even fifty years earlier; but it must be confessed that the statements concerning this early introduction of Christianity into Britain are all alike vague, spurious, or insufficient. The only way to arrive at the truth is by collecting all the early statements on the subject, and by tabulating them according to their value. This has been done most completely and carefully by Mr Haddan, in Appendix A to the "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland," edited by A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, vol. i. 1869. He shews that there is no historical evidence for the existence of Christians in Britain earlier than that of Tertullian (adv. Jud. vii.), which only carries us back to about A.D. 200. By a careful analysis, he proves that "Statements respecting (a) British Christians at Rome, (β) British Christians in Britain, (γ) Apostles or Apostolic men preaching in Britain in the *First Century*, rest upon either guess, mistake, or fable;" and again, that "Evidence alleged for the existence of a Christian Church in Britain during the *Second Century* is similarly unhistorical." With these incontrovertible results we must rest contented. The various legends evidently arose from the wish to claim for Britain

some one person at least who is mentioned in Holy Scripture, and hence we find such claims advanced for St Peter, St Paul, James the son of Zebedee, and Simon Zelotes ; whilst other writers, perhaps thinking these notions too ambitious, were contented with the names of St Joseph, Aristobulus, or even the Claudia mentioned by St Paul in 2 Tim. iv. 21. All such accounts are alike fabulous, and the names of Britain's first missionaries must ever remain unknown ; whilst we can hardly approximate more closely to the date of their arrival than by the vague statement, that it was before the year 208.

§ 13. JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA.

In examining the account of Joseph of Arimathea as related by John of Glastonbury, we at once find that it is separable into two distinct parts, the one of which is *legendary* and does not greatly transgress the bounds of probability, whilst the other part is purely *fabulous* and obviously of later invention.¹ For the purpose of making this distinction, the account of William of Malmesbury is most valuable, and altogether to be relied on. He tells us how St Joseph was sent over by St Philip, and how a king of Britain, whom he does not name, gave Joseph and his companions the island called Ynyswitryn, where, by admonition of the Archangel Gabriel appearing to him in a vision, he built a chapel which he dedicated to the Virgin. After which two other kings, whom again he does not name, gave the twelve holy men the Twelve Hides of Glastonbury. Later still, the place where so many holy men had lived became for a short time a lurking-place for wild beasts. He afterwards adds a few marvels ; such as the piercing of St David's hand, an account of a erueifix that spoke, of another from which the crown fell down, and of another from which blood flowed when the figure of Christ was wounded by an arrow. He also briefly refers to Arthur. But the points about which he seems to have known nothing are these. He does not make any reference to the Assumption of the Virgin ; he knows nothing of Joseph's son Josephe, nothing of Josephes'

¹ Both parts are alike untrue, but I think my meaning is clear. Many old writers who accepted the part of the story which rested on ecclesiastical tradition rejected that which rested only on romances.

consecration at Sarras, nothing about the extraordinary story of the pilgrims crossing the sea on Josephes' shirt, nor has he a word about king Mordrains. He omits the four verses at the bottom of p. 69, where Josephes is again mentioned ; and he makes no allusion to the Graal, or to Lancelot or Gawain, or to the prophecy of Melkin ; all of which is just what we should expect. Of the purely fabulous part of the story, of all that relates to Josephes, Mordrains, and Sarras, he gives no indication ; and his silence about Joseph bringing any holy relics with him is very significant.¹ It is true that in speaking of Arthur he speaks slightly of the trifling fables of the Britons concerning him (Will. Malm. ed. T. D. Hardy, i. 14) ; but it does not follow that he would wittingly omit a strange legend about a saint. Again, it has been remarked that Geoffrey of Monmouth does not say one word about Joseph of Arimathea ; and yet he has plenty to say about Merlin. I believe the true and simple explanation of this to be that what I have called the *fabulous* portion of this narrative was not invented till after the death of Geoffrey, which took place in 1154. The *legendary* portion was probably known centuries earlier, as seems to be shown by the quarrel between St Augustine and the Britons, " who preferred their own traditions before all the churches in the world " (Beda's Eccl. Hist. Bk. ii. ch. 2 ; cf. Montalembert, Monks of the West, vol. iii. p. 25 (translation) ; Paulin Paris, Romans de la Table Ronde, i. 95). The fullest form of the legend—but one unconnected with Britain—known in early times, is that contained in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus and similar writings, which tell us how Joseph was imprisoned by the Jews, but miraculously delivered by Christ, who appeared to him in the prison, shewed him the Tomb in which Himself had been laid by the saint's pious care, and then, taking him by the hand, set him in his own city of Arimathea. See Cowper's Apocryphal Gospels, pp. 249, 259, 290, 296, 332, 341, 428, &c. A translation of

¹ In the excellently written account of the Legend of St Joseph in the Acta Sanctorum (xvii Martii), the writer is incredulous about St Joseph's coming to Britain, and says he believes that this story must have been invented by the writer of the Romance of the Graal ; but he seems to have entirely overlooked the account in William of Malmesbury ; which makes a good deal of difference as regards the latter part of the statement.

one of these accounts exists in Anglo-Saxon (MS. Camb. Univ. Lib. II. 2. 11), and has been edited by Thwaites. The story of Joseph's imprisonment occurs also in Gregory of Tours, who died about A.D. 595; see Gregorii Turonensis, Hist. Francorum, lib. i. cap. xx, printed by Migne. But to the *fabulous* portion of the story, in which the Grail is mentioned, there is only *one* reference involving a date earlier than the twelfth century; and a very extraordinary passage it is. Helinand, a Cistercian monk in the Abbey of Froidmond in the diocese of Beauvais, who died about A.D. 1219 or 1223, wrote a chronicle ending with the year 1209, in which he has a very curious entry under the date A.D. 717. The passage has been quoted by Vincent of Beauvais, in his Speculum Historiale, and by John of Tynemouth, in his Historia Aurea; the original passage is printed in vol. 212 of Migne's Cursus Patrologie, and is cited by M. Paulin Paris, Romans de la Table Ronde, tom. i. p. 91. I prefer to quote it from a MS. of John of Tynemouth (Camb. Univ. Libr. Dd. 10. 22, fol. 10 b), which omits the words *cum suo jure*, i. e. "together with their gravy," after *dapes*, but has the inserted clause—*gradatim, unus morsellus post alium in diuersis ordinibus*.

"De Ioseph centurione, ca^m. 4.

Hoc tempore in britannia cuidam heremite demonstrata fuit mirabilis quedam visio per angelum de Ioseph decurione nobili, qui corpus domini depositit de cruce, & de catino illo vel parapside in quo dominus cenauit cum discipulis suis; de quo ab eodem heremita descripta est historia que dicitur gradale. Gradalis autem vel gradale gallice dicitur scutella lata & aliquantulum profunda, in qua precciose dapes diuitibus solent apponi gradatim, unus morsellus post alium in diuersis ordinibus. Dicitur & vulgari nomine graal, quia grata et acceptabilis est in ea comedenti, tum propter continens, quia forte argentea est vel de alia precciosa materia, tum propter contentum i. ordinem multiplicem dapium preciosarum. Hanc historiam latine scriptam inuenire non potui set tantum gallice scripta habetur a quibusdam proceribus, nec facile vt aiunt tota inueniri potest."

The question is simply, is the date 717 genuine, or fictitious? I cannot believe it to be genuine, but think it to be purely the invention of Walter Map; for the French prose romance of the Seynt Graal gives the identical date 717 as the year when the book of the Graal was written by a purely imaginary hermit; see the "Seynt

Graal," ed. F. J. Furnivall, p. 1. Yet, if I understand him rightly, M. Paulin Paris, the best authority on this matter, accepts the date as in a measure genuine, in the sense that some old traditions concerning the Graal were about that time cherished by the Britons with a peculiar interest. I think Mr Morley's opinion to be here the more correct, when he says that "Helinand testifies to the immediate acceptance of the legendary origin ascribed artistically to Map's tale of the Graal, by actually placing under the year 707 [read 717] the introductory story of the vision that appeared to a certain hermit in Britain, of St Joseph and the Graal," &c.; Morley's English Writers, vol. i. p. 568. It is clear that the passage only proves that the French prose romance of the Graal (which probably had a Latin original) was written before 1209. It would take up far too much space to consider all the numerous points of interest connected with the origin of the Graal legends. The subject is most carefully treated by M. Paulin Paris; and again, an excellent account of them is given by Professor Morley, in his English Writers, vol. i. pp. 562—573. Only lately, Dr F. G. Bergmann has issued an inexpensive pamphlet entitled "The San Gréal; an inquiry into the origin and signification of the Romances of the San Gréal," which, if not always accurate, is at any rate well worth reading. I can only state some of the results to which these and other books lead. Dr Bergmann mentions five authors as especially to be noted as writers of Graal Romances, viz. Guiot le Provençal, Chrestien de Troyes, Walter Map (commonly called Mapes), Wolfram von Eschenbach, and Albrecht von Scharfenberg. He claims "the glory of having invented the Gréal" for the first of these, viz. Guiot. But the proof is doubtful, for the work of Guiot has perished, and all that we know about him is derived from the scanty data furnished by his German imitator, Wolfram, who did not begin his poem till 1204. Again, the "Lancelot" of Chrestien de Troyes has been proved conclusively by a Flemish scholar, W. J. A. Jonckbloet, to have been founded upon the "Lancelot" of Walter Map; and in like manner I suppose that Chrestien borrowed his "Percival le Gallois" from Map also, in a great measure. Wolfram and Albrecht certainly wrote later than Map, and I can see no reason why we may not assume Walter

Map's romance, of which the original Latin version is lost, to have been the real original from which all the rest were more or less imitated. This is Professor Morley's conclusion, who very pertinently asks—"Where was there an author able to invent it and to write it with a talent so 'prodigious,' except Walter Map, to whom alone, and to whom always positively, it has been ascribed?" The extraordinary genius of this great writer is sufficiently evinced by the works of his which are still extant. If we put the date of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history at 1145—1147, and suppose that Walter Map wrote his first Romance, viz. "Joseph," at least twenty years after the appearance of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history (Morley's Eng. Writ. i. 563), we get the approximate date of its composition to be 1170, or probably, as it seems to me, a few years earlier.

§ 14. The original Latin text by Walter Map being lost, we are left to conjecture what it was like from the various translations and imitations of it. And first, there is the Romance in French verse, as composed by Robert de Boron about A.D. 1170. This exists only in one MS., No. 1987 in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris. It was first printed by M. Michel in 1841, and has been reprinted by Mr Furnivall in his "Seynt Graal," edited for the Roxburghe Club in 1861. It is not quite perfect, having a gap in the middle of the story. An analysis of the contents is given by M. Paulin Paris, "Les Romans de la Table Ronde," i. 123. Secondly, there is a French prose rendering of this same version, extant in an unprinted MS. now in the possession of Mr Huth, of which some account was given in "The Athenaeum," Dec. 11, 1869. There is a great deal of similarity in the language of these two versions, shewing that one is immediately derived from the other. Compare, for instance, the following passage from the Huth MS. (fol. 15)—

"cil de cele compaignie parlerent ensamble & disent. que il auoient pitie de moys. & dient *que* il emprieront yoseph. Et vinrent tout ensamble a lui. & se laissierent choir [deuant] ses pies & li priierent tout ensamble mierchi. Et *yoseph* sermeruilla moult & dist. *Que voles vous.* Et il dient a yoseph. Li plus des gens qui vinrent chi sen sont ale *por* chou que nous eusmes la grasee de cel graal,"¹ &c.—

¹ I cannot answer for the correctness of the spelling, having only seen a transcript of the MS., not the MS. itself.

with the corresponding passage in the verse copy (p. 32, col. 1, in Mr Furnivall's *Seynt Graal*, vol. i. appendix),

*“De Moyses leur prist pité,
Et dirent qu'il en palleroient
A Joseph et l'en prieroient.
Quant tout ensemble Joseph virent,
Trestout devant ses piez chéirent,
Et li prie chaeuns et breit
Qu'il de Moysset pitié cit ;
Et Joseph mout se mervilla
De ce que chascuns le pria,
Et leur ha dist : ‘Vous, que voulez ?
Dites-moi de quoi vous priez.’
Il respondent hisnelement :
“Li plus granz feis de nostre gent
S'en sunt alé et departi;
Un seul en ha demouré ci
Qui pleure mout très tenrement,
Et crie et fait grant marrement,
Et dist que il ne s'en ira
De ce tant comm' il vivera.
Il nous prie que te prions,
De la grace que nous avuns,” &c.*

This passage also shews that the above-mentioned prose version is more compressed ; but it is not easy to say whether it is epitomized from the verse copy, or the latter expanded from the former.

Thirdly, there is the *long* French prose version, in which the whole story is much expanded and considerably altered, existing in several MSS., and printed in Mr Furnivall's “*Seynt Graal*” from MS. Bibl. Reg. xiv. E. iii. in the British Museum, with some readings from MS. Addit. 10292.

The English Alliterative Poem is a condensed version from the third and longest of these three versions ; hence the frequent references to Mr Furnivall's “*Seynt Graal*” in my notes. The prefaces to this work, by Mr Furnivall and Herr Schulz, should be consulted.

Mr Furnivall's book further contains an English rimed version made by Henry Lonelieh, in the time of Henry VI. This is of great length, and follows the long French prose version tolerably closely. It is spoken of by Warton, Hist. Eng. Poetry, ed. 1840,

vol. i. p. 149. The MS. is in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 80.

I may here quote a useful passage in Herr Schulz's *Essay (Seynt Graal, i. p. xv)*. He omits to mention Walter Map and Robert de Boron.

"The oldest narrator of these histories, and who is at the same time known by name, is Chrestiens de Troyes, in his *Li Contes del Graal*.¹ He left this MS. in an incomplete state, and the MSS. of his work are mentioned to us in their order by three continuators of the work—Gautiers de Dinet, Gerbers, and Manestiers.

"Another treatment of the same matter, in the main, by a North French Poet, probably a contemporary of Chrestiens de Troyes, is afforded by the MS. at Berne, entitled *Percheval le Galois*, on which Rochat reports *in extenso*,² and where, at pp. 165 and 176, he gives, as his result, that this work, in spite of many coincidences, does *not* emanate from Chrestiens de Troyes.

"A third version of the Graal- and Percival-sagas was furnished to us Germans by Wolfram von Eschenbach, in his *Parcival* (composed from about 1204 to 1210).³ In it he followed a French poet, Kyot [Guilot] of Provence, a Provençal who, however, wrote in Northern French, as it was spoken in Champagne, the only dialect which Wolfram von Eschenbach understood. As Kyot's French poem has unfortunately not hitherto been discovered, it is impossible to determine what measure of liberty Wolfram has taken in his version of Kyot's works; but his *Titurel*-fragments, which stand in the closest connection with the 'Parcival,' prove that Kyot must have narrated numerous adventures, which Wolfram, for the purpose of more completely rounding off the Graal and Parcival stories, omitted from his romance, and which still afforded abundant material for a second tale, namely, of the *Tschiamutulander* and *Sigune*, which Wolfram, however, unfortunately left incomplete, and of which those two so-called *Titurel*-fragments form only a small part.

"The above-mentioned omitting of many adventures narrated by Kyot, is confirmed by the German *Later Titurel*,⁴ by a poet of the

¹ About him, consult W. L. Holland, "Chrestiens de Troyes;" Tübingen, Fues. 1854, pp. 195—225; where many books on the subject are mentioned.

² A. Rochat. On a hitherto unknown "Pereheval le Galois;" Zürich, Kiesling, 1855.

³ The original text, edited by Laehmann, was published at Berlin by Reimer, 1833. Translated, with an Introduction and explanations, by San Marte (A. Schulz), 2nd edition, Leipsic, Brockhaus, 1858. Likewise translated by Simrock, Stuttgart and Tübingen; Cotta, new edition, 1858. [A brief analysis, in English, is given in Bergmann's *San Gréal*.]

⁴ First printed in 1477. Modern edition by K. A. Hahn. *Titurel: Quedlinburg and Leipsic, Basse*, 1842. See an extensive extract, with notes,

name of Albrecht, whose composition comes at the end of the 13th century. He also refers to Kyot the Provençal, but adds the history of the final pilgrimage of the Graal to the East, into the realm of Prester John.¹ It is a matter of doubt, however, whether he ever saw Kyot's original work ; and the probability is, that he took the subject-matter from other poems based upon Kyot, and which are unknown to us."

In the "Seynt Graal," pref. p. vii, it is shewn, by Mr W. D. Nash, that the story is not of British origin, as relates to the Graal at least. At p. 3 of the text, the date already mentioned (A.D. 717) is given as the time when the story was first revealed to a certain hermit ; and an astonishing assertion is elsewhere made, that the Latin book, the true original, was written by no mortal hand. I forbear to quote the blasphemy further ; we may acquit Walter Map, I hope, of daring to originate such a lie himself.

§ 15. The above account may suffice. Further information is to be obtained from the authors quoted, especially from M. Paulin Paris, Mr Morley, and Mr Furnivall. I will only recapitulate the chief points. Dividing the History of Joseph into its legendary and fabulous portions by the criterion furnished us by William of Malmesbury, the former part is again subdivisible into two portions ; viz. the legend of Joseph's imprisonment, as related in the Gospel of Nicodemus, the Acts of Pilate, and other early Eastern apocryphal writings, and secondly, the legend of his arrival in England, which was firmly believed in at Glastonbury at an early period. Next there is the account connected with the date 717, which was certainly a later invention. Lastly, the fabulous portion of the story bursts suddenly into full vigour, and is spread abroad by Walter Map, by Robert de Boron, Guyot le Provençal, and Chrestien de Troyes with wonderful rapidity, and at much about the same time, viz. about A.D. 1170. How far any of these was indebted to the other, it is hard to say. Robert de Boron does not pretend to much originality.²

and an "Essay on the Graal-Saga," in San Marte's "Life and Poems of Wolfram von Eschenbach," vol. ii. p. 86—294, and 361—453.

On the ground of the Epistola Johannis Presbyteri, missa ad Gubernatorem Constantinopolitanum, in Assemanni Bibliotheca Orientalis, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 490; published Romæ, 1728.

² I am much puzzled by M. Paulin Paris's statement, tom. i. p. 106. From a certain passage he seems to infer that Robert de Boron had *not* before his

§ 16. ON THE WORD “GRAAL.”

This word, very frequently used *without* the prefix *Seynt, Seint, Saint, Sainct*, or *San* in the earlier copies, is variously spelt *Graal, Greal, Graaus, Grasal*, or *Grazal* in Norman-French, *Grasal, Grazal*, or *Grazaus* in Provençal, *Grisal* in Old Catalan, and *Grial* in Old Spanish. In modern French, it is written *Graal, Gréal*, and *Gréal*; in Old English it is *Graile* or *Grayle*, as e.g. in Spenser, F. Q. bk. ii. c. x. st. 53—

“ Yet true it is, that long before that day
 Hither came Joseph of Arimathie,
 Who brought with him the *holy grayle*, they say,
 And preacht the truth ; but since it greatly did decay.”

Mr Wedgwood’s account of the word is as follows; (*Etym. Dict.* ii. 171). “Languedoc *grazal, grezal*, a large earthen dish or bowl, *bassin de terre de grès*. *Grais, grez*, [is] potter’s earth, free-stone. Provençal *grasal, grazal*, ‘un *grasal* ou *jatte pleine de prunes*.’—Raynouard. *Grais* or *grès* seems the Latinized form of the Breton *krâg*, hard stone; *eur pôl krâg*, un pot de *grès*. So Norse *gryta*, a pot, from *griot*, stone.” Elsewhere, viz. s. v. Grit, he explains the Fr. *grès* by gritty stone; and considers it cognate with the German and Dutch *gries*, and the English *grit*, A.S. *greet*. A similar derivation is given by Borel. But the derivation suggested by Roquefort, and strongly supported by Burguy and M. Paulin Paris, is decidedly preferable. Roquefort shews conclusively that the dish called *greal* was used at great feasts and was of costly material (cf. the extract from Helinand above, p. xxx), and therefore not of earth or stone. The word is, in fact, the Low Latin *gradale* or *grasale*, which occurs in Ducange or in Charpentier’s Supplement in the very numerous forms *gradale, gradalus, grasala, grasale, grayale, grassale, grazala, grassala*, with the diminutives *gradella, gracellus, grassellu, grasilha, grassellus*, and *grasaleetus*! Charpentier further tells us that the signification is—a kind of vessel, of wood, earth, or metal, and not always implying the same notion; for it occurs both

eyes the Latin original. From the same passage (l. 929, p. 11, of Appendix to “Seynt Graal”), I infer the exact contrary.

in the sense of a large, round, and shallow vessel, Fr. *jatte* [a bowl], and also "pro *lancis seu catini specie*" for the use of the table, Fr. *plat* [a dish]. All the above forms are various corruptions from a diminutive *eratella* of the Latin *crater* or *cratera*, which again is from the Greek *κρατήρ* or *κρατηρία*, a bowl in which things could be mixed up. In a precisely similar manner the modern French *grille* is formed from the Latin *eraticula*, the diminutive of *erates*. M. Paulin aptly cites the Fr. *gras* from the Lat. *erassus* to shew the initial change, and O. Fr. *paelle* from the Lat. *patella*, to illustrate the loss of the *t*. At any rate, it is certain that the original sense of *graal* was a bowl, or dish, and the *seynt graal* was that Holy Dish which was used at the Last Supper, stolen by a servant of Pilate—so says the story,—used by Pilate to wash his hands in before the multitude, given by Pilate to Joseph as a memorial of Christ, and finally used by Joseph to collect the Holy Blood flowing from the five wounds. But of course it was soon seen by the romance-writers that this first idea was a mistake. The Vessel containing the Blood should rather have been the Cup, and this alteration was soon made. Even Robert de Boron tells us that the true *spiritual* meaning of the Graal was, that it signified the Holy Chalice. Christ is made to appear in a vision, and declare this explicitly to Joseph, in ll. 907—910 of the early French verse; see *Seynt Graal*, Appendix,

"Cist viessiaus ou men sane meis,
Quant de men cors le requeillis,
Calices apelez sara."

That is, "this Vessel, in which thou didst put My Blood when thou didst collect it from My Body, shall be called the Chalice."¹

This idea prevailed more and more, until the two words *sang* *greal*, having lost their original meaning, were turned into *sang* *real*, and interpreted by *real blood*; an explanation which is actually given by Ménage as the true one, and believed in by many at the present day! It deserves to be mentioned, however, that the translation *real blood* is rather a lame one, as the usual meaning of the

¹ Hence the expression in Tennyson's "Holy Grail," p. 36—

"The cup, the cup itself, from which our Lord
Drank at the last sad supper with his own."

O. Fr. *real* is *royal*. And in fact, the combination *sank real* actually occurs in Old English in the signification of *royal blood*; as, e. g. in l. 179 of *Morte Arthure* (ed. Perry, E. E. T. S.) p. 6, where it is spelt *saunke realle*. Only 4 lines above, in l. 175, the Romans are said to be “of þe realeste blode” (i. e. “the most royal blood”) upon earth. Skelton says, moreover, that Cardinal Wolsey

—“came of the *sank royll*
That was cast out of a bochers stall.”
Why Come Ye Nat To Courte? l. 490.

But this interpretation—*real blood*—is not the only false interpretation. The old romance-writers, who wrote whilst the *g* still always belonged to the second word, were driven to account for the word *greal* by deriving it from *grè*, i. e. from the Latin *gratus*, pleasing. Accordingly, they gravely tell us that the *greal* is so called because it is so *agreeable*. This explanation is given in the extract above, p. xxx., in the Huth MS. fol. 14 b, and in Robert de Boron’s version; see *Seynt Graal*, vol. i. Appendix, p. 31. The fact that the early writers were driven to such a shift as this very sufficiently disposes of the late derivation suggested by Ménage.

§ 17. But the difficulties connected with the word do not end here. Besides the Low-Latin *gradale*, a bowl, there is another Low-Latin *gradale* with another meaning. This *gradale* is a variation of *graduate*, the service-book or Antiphonary for High Mass, containing the portions to be sung by the Choir, and so called from certain phrases which were sung, after the Epistle, *in gradibus*, upon the steps of the choir, as directed in the rubrie in the Sarum Missal. “Quando epistola legitur, duo pueri in superpellieis, facta inclinatione ad altare *ante gradum chori* in pulpitud per medium chori ad *Gradale* incipiendum se præparent, et suum versum cantandum.” See Procter, on the Common Prayer, 3rd ed. 1857, pp. 8 and 317. As might be expected, this word *gradale* also assumes the form *graile* or *grayle* in Early English,¹ as in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, where we find the entry—“*Grayle*, boke. *Gradale*, vel

¹ It even takes the form *grasal* in Old French; see the note in M. Paulin Paris: *Les Romans*, &c. tom. i. p. 379. The form *grazal* is given by Ducange.

gradalis," upon which see Mr Way's note. Mr Way concludes by telling us that the statute 3 and 4 Edw. VI. for abolishing divers books and images, enacts "that all books called antiphoners, missals, *grails*, processionals, &c. heeretofore used for service of the church, shall be cleerelie and vtterlie abolished, and forbidden for euer to be vsed or kept in this realme."¹ The question may arise, were these two uses of the O. Fr. *grael* ever confused? M. Paris assumes that they were, and that the story of the Holy Graal was originally inserted in a *Gradale* by a Welsh clerk about A.D. 717. I am not convinced by this explanation, nor am I persuaded that it can be evolved from the opening passage of the long French prose romance. It is, however, quite true that the name *grual* was applied to the romance itself, as well as to the vessel, as e. g. in the lines—

“Issi nus conte le Graal,
Le lyvre de la saint vassal”—

which occur in the History of Fulk fitz-warine, ed. Wright, Warton Club, 1855; p. 181.

Nor are the meanings of the word even yet exhausted. The Lat. *graculus*, a jackdaw, produced the O. Fr. *graille*, from which was formed *grailler*, to cry like a jackdaw, also to recall dogs with a horn. The Lat. *craticula* produced the O. Fr. *grail*, now spelt *grille*. The Lat. *gracilis* produced the O. Fr. *graile* or *gresle*, fine, small, delicate, which was also used as a substantive to signify a shrill-sounding musical instrument. Hence Mr Park may be not far wrong when he interprets *in graile* by “in small partieles” in the quotation made by Nares from Ritson's Songs, vol. ii, p. 64—

“Nor yet the delight, that comes to the sight
To see how it [the ale] flowers and mantles *in graile*.”

If we here take *in graile* to refer to *very fine* beads or air-bubbles, we probably get the true sense. And hence, again, we find *grails* used to mean the fine or small feathers of a hawk; see Halliwell. Lastly, from the O. Fr. *gres*, mod. Fr. *grès*, which is our Eng. *grit*, comes the O. Fr. *gresle*, mod. Fr. *grêle*, hail, and the mod. F. *grésil*, sleet. Hence the prov. Eng. *grailing*, a slight fall of hail, just

¹ See other examples in Nares, s. v. *Graile*.

enough to cover the ground, in Halliwell; and the word *graile*, used by Spenser to signify fine gravel, F. Q. bk. i. c. vii. st. 6. But it is clear that the O. Fr. *gresle*, fine, and *gresle*, hail, with their derivatives, may easily have been confused with each other.

§ 18. As regards the Holy Vessel itself, the legends tell us that it was finally transported to India, and still remains there. Nevertheless, at the capture of Caesarea¹ in 1101, the Crusaders found what they imagined to be the very Dish itself, made of one large emerald. It was sent to Genoa, and there shewn as a relic, till Napoleon I. transported it to Paris. In 1815 it was sent back to Genoa, but was cracked in the journey. At Genoa it is still preserved, in the treasury of the Cathedral of San Lorenzo, and is still venerated as being the veritable *Sacra Cutino*. It is really made of greenish glass, and of an hexagonal shape. It may be seen by the curious, and is duly noted as being one of the curiosities of Genoa in Murray's Handbook to North Italy, p. 106. For further description of it, see Nares's Glossary, s. v. *Graal*. This is not the only one, however; for Dr Bergmann says that one was sent by the patriarch of Jerusalem to Henry III. of England in 1247, and that another one once existed at Constantinople. The book of Melkin tells us that Joseph did not bring a Dish to England, but two sacred cruets, viz. those delineated at p. 35. These were buried at Glastonbury, and will be found whenever the sarcophagus of Joseph is found; after which there will never again be a drought in England. It is almost worth while, then, to look for them!

§ 19. As regards the symbolical meaning of the myth involved in the Graal legend, the connection between the tale of Pheredur in the "Red Book" and the Romance of Percival, the relation of the Graal itself to Ceridwen's cauldron and the ancient Druidic rites, I must refer the reader to the Essay on "The Sangreal" in the second series of S. Baring Gould's "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages." And I here take the opportunity to observe that those who take up my edition of The Romans of Partenay (E. E. T. S., 1866) should

¹ Roquesfort (s. v. *Graal*) quotes an account from the *Chroniques de Loys xii*, by Jehan d'Autun, which gives the same date, but speaks of the capture of *Jerusalem*. But Jerusalem was taken A.D. 1099.

read the Essay, in the same volume, upon “Melusina;” whilst a third Essay, entitled “The Knight of the Swan,” well illustrates Mr Gibbs’s edition of the Cheuelere Assigne (E. E. T. S., Extra Series, 1868). The religious signification of the Grail-legend in its relation to Christianity is considered by M. Fauriel, in his “Histoire de la Poésie Provençale,” tom. ii. chap. 26 and 27.

§ 20. EVALAK'S SHIELD ; ARGENT, A CROSS, GULES.

The shield given to Evalak by Josaphe, son of Joseph of Arimathea, plays a considerable part in our Alliterative Poem. Besides which, the Story of Joseph was recounted to Galahad by the White Knight solely for the sake of accounting for this shield. After Evalak’s victory over Tholomer, the red cross upon it vanished ; but we read that Josaphes, just before his death, bade Mordrains bring the shield to him ; after which he (Josaphes) bled at the nose, made a cross upon the shield with his blood, and gave it again to Mordrains. Subsequently it was placed upon duke Nasciens’ tomb, to be left there till Galahad should come and take it. Galahad was afterwards so fortunate as to obtain also a sword which had belonged to king David, the hilt of which had been covered by Solomon with precious stones. We then come to his adventure with the holy bleeding lance, his achievement of the Saint Graal, and his death at Sarras. See Malory’s *Morte Darthur*, bk. xvii. We find a similar account, with some slight variations, in Hardyng’s Chronicle, edited by Sir H. Ellis, 1812. Hardyng professes to follow “Mewyn, the Britayn chronicler,” who is probably no other than Melkin, of whose book it would be interesting to know somewhat more than is told us by him and John of Glastonbury. A few extracts from Hardyng may be not out of place here.

Chap. xlviij. of his Chronicle relates “howe Ioseph Aramatheie came unto Britayne with Vaspasyan, and chrystened a part of this lande.”

In Chap. xlviij, we have the account “howe Ioseph conuerted this kyng Aruiragus, & gaue hym a shelde of y^e armes that wee call sainet George his armes, whiche armes he bare euer after ; & thus became that armes to bee y^e kynges armes of this lande, long afore sainet George was gotten or borne. And as Maryan, the profounde

chronicler, saith, he bare of siluer, in token of clennes, a crosse of goules, [in] significacion of the bloodle that Christe bleedde on y^e crosse, and for it muste nedes of reason be called a crosse.

IOseph conuerted this kyng Aruigarus,
By his prechynge, to knowe y^e lawe deuine,
And baptizyd hym, as writyen hath Mewinus,¹
The chronicler, in Bretayn tongue full fyne,
And to Christe[s] lawe made hym enclyne ;
And gaue hym then a shelde of siluer white,
A crosse endlong and ouerthwart full perfect," &c.

In Chapter lxxvii, we have an aecount of the achievement of the Sege Perilous by Galahad—

“ Whiche Joseph sayd afore that tyme ful long,
In Mewyns booke, the Britayn chronicler,
As writyen is the Britons iestes emong,
That Galaad the knight, and virgyne clere
Shuld itacheue and auentures all in fere
Of the seynt Graale, and of the great Briteyn,
And afterwarde a virgyne dye certeyne.”

He next goes on to tell how Galaad came to Auelon, and found there a white shield bearing a red cross, a shield, and a spear, the shield having been left there by Joseph, and the sword by Naciens. Four years afterwards, Galaad finds the Saint Graal in Wales, after which he goes to Sarras and is made king of Sarras—

Where thenne he made .xij. knighthes of the order
Of saynt Graall, in full signifycacyon
Of the table [of] whiche Ioseph was the founder,
At Aualon, as Mewyn made relacyon ;
In token of the table and refyguracyon
Of the brotherhede of Christes souper & maundie
Afore his death, of hyghest dignytee.”

Galaad dies at Sarras, says Hardynge, but sends Percival with his heart to Arthur, praying the king to bury the heart beside king Evalak and duke Seraphe, who were buried beside Joseph in the chapel of Our Lady at Glastonbury. This was done, and the famous shield was hung over Galaad's heart's tomb. And this is the last that we hear of it. A like “silver shielde,” with “a bloudie Crosse” scored upon it, forms part of the armour of the Red-Cross

¹ Other readings *Nenius*, *Neninus*; but *Melkin* is probably meant; see note above, p. xxi.

Knight, St George, as described by Spenser in the opening stanzas of the *Faerie Queene*. St George, however, was not considered as the *special* patron of England till after the siege of Calais in 1349. The banner of St George, white with a red cross, floated beside that of the Austrian empire a century earlier, in 1245; see "Curious Myths," &c., by S. Baring Gould, 2nd Series, p. 49, 2nd edition. A century earlier still, in 1146, the white standard, with the blood-red cross, was borne by the Knights Templars, having been granted to them by Pope Eugenius III. The white ground denoted chastity, and the red cross was the symbol of martyrdom. See "The Knights Templars," by C. G. Addison, 3rd ed. 1852, pp. 25, 26. The earliest mention of the red cross as a badge is in the speech of Pope Urban II. in 1094—"wear it, a red, a bloody cross, as an external mark, on your breasts or shoulders;" Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ch. lviii. Further researches concerning the Red Cross soon involve us in the mysteries of the Rosicrucians, concerning whom it may suffice to refer the reader to a late work on the subject, by Hargrave Jennings. I little thought, when writing the above remarks, that, before the proofsheets of this preface could be corrected, the RED CROSS would be floating, an emblem of Mercy, over French and German ambulances.

The Knights Templars, the Brethren of the Order of the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, are first heard of in 1118. Their vows and their principle of association strongly remind us of the knights of romance, who engaged in the quest of the Saint Graal. Indeed Herr Schulz tells us expressly (*Seynt Graal*, vol. i. p. xx) that Wolfram von Eschenbach, in his *Pareival*, gives the name of *Templeisen* (Fr. *Les Templiers*) to the guardians of the Holy Vessel.

§ 21. REMARKS.

Before concluding this Preface, I must express my sincere thanks to Mr Furnivall for various useful suggestions and for his loan of a transcript of the Huth MS., and to Dr Morris for some notes upon difficult and unusual words. Mr Parker and Mr Brock have also rendered me much help.

Whilst engaged on editing the pieces in this book, some points

have suggested themselves to me which I here put down as briefly as possible.

The legend of the Graal was added to and altered so often that I do not think we ought to expect that any one leading idea was kept always in view. In many cases, mere invention of new incidents seems to be all that the compilers thought of. To regard the series of legends as a whole, and to find that they always embody some central thought is just what we moderns are so prone to do ; but it may be doubted whether the writers of them would not be very much astonished at such a proceeding. For instance, given the existence of a Saint Graal, which only a few knights could hope to see, the romance of the Queste of the Saint Graal *follows* naturally ; but the Queste may have been an after-thought, for all that.

The series seems to have begun with the story of Joseph for no other reason than that he was the great British saint, and was moreover said to have been buried at Glastonbury, where king Arthur was buried also. Hence the idea of introducing the story of Arthur by a romance concerning Joseph arose naturally enough.

It being once resolved upon to make Joseph the subject of a romance, the notion of a holy dish containing Christ's blood starts up at once. It is his natural symbol, just as St Catharine has her wheel, and St Sebastian his arrow. His other symbol, to signify the great distance over which he had travelled, was of course a staff. Out of this staff *grew*, in the most literal sense, the miraculous thorn and the wonderful walnut-tree ; and, later still, the thorn-tree became three thorn-trees.

The great excitement of the middle of the twelfth century was the second crusade, begun in 1146. A little earlier, the order of the Knights Templars had been established. This was a *fighting* order of Knights, quite unlike that of the Knights of St John. Their object was religious glory, and their destination the East. How exactly all this is reproduced in the history of the Knights of the Round Table, seeking a holy object, and finding it likewise in the East ! Godfrey de Bouillon, king of Jerusalem, meets with the success of Evalak, king of Sarras. Galahad's shield bears the Templars' device. The Saracens were then frequently heard of ; hence Joseph goes to Sarras,

their supposed city. The conversion of the people of Sarras is an artistic touch. Nothing could more exasperate the Crusaders against the Saracens than thus to represent the latter as having received, and afterwards renounced, the faith.

The mention of the instruments of the Passion brings forward the Holy Lance, and especial attention must have been called to it by the extraordinary fraud which gave out that the Lance had been found at the siege of Antioch in 1098 ; see Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. lviii. Hence it is introduced naturally enough at the appearance of the Graal, as mentioned in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, bk. xvii, ch. xx. That a bleeding lance is mentioned in Welsh traditions seems to me more a coincidence than anything else. As for the sword of David, it was invented to match the lance and shield. The "tree which Abel was slain under" (Malory's *Morte Darthur*, bk. xvii. ch. vi) is connected with the curious "Legend of the Cross" discussed in S. Baring Gould's "Curious Myths," 2nd Series. So also is the idea of the three trees growing into one, and the building of Solomon's ship.

Some particulars about Joseph occur in the legend of St Veronica. Accordingly, the story of Veronica is made part of the legend of Joseph. See the French versions.

I have very little doubt that the mysterious Grail-Ark, in which so many wonders were seen, as described in ll. 258—298 of the alliterative poem, was suggested by the Holy Sepulchre. This is made probable by a passage in the Anglo-Saxon version of the legend of St Veronica, edited by Goodwin for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1851, p. 40. There Joseph says of himself—"ie wæs an þæra manna þe his byrgene heold, and ie myn heafod ahylde and hyne geseon wolde, ac ie þær nan þyng of hym ne geseah. Ac ie þær twegen englas geseah, ænne at þam heafdon and oðerne at þam fotum," &c. ; i. e. I was one of the men who guarded his sepulchre, and bent my head and thought to see him, but I beheld there nothing of him ; but I saw two angels, one at the head and the other at the foot, &c. The two angels have become sixteen.

The Holy Graal was, at first, represented as the Dish which held the Paschal Lamb on Holy Thursday. Hence its connection with the

Bread which represented Christ's body, and its supposed *sustaining* power. On Joseph's first journey from Jerusalem, it supplies the wants of his company as the manna sustained the Israelites in the wilderness. The change which resulted in connecting it more immediately with the Chalice was intended to involve it in a higher mystery.

The Grail sometimes appeared, borne by an angel, to the devout and holy. This reminds me in some degree of the old drawings in which a Cup and an Angel are introduced into that most sacred scene, only to be contemplated with humble reverence, the scene of the Agony in the Garden.

The wonders and miracles in the old Romances are due in a great measure to the requirements of the *audience*; they were intended for brains half turned by the religious excitement of the Crusades. I think we shall best appreciate them, not by looking in them for any final purpose, but by simply observing how easily the writers drift from one idea to another. Tennyson's Holy Grail is a different conception altogether, from a higher point of view. Very much more after their manner are such poems as the "Calidore" of Keats, and the passages in the Faerie Queene where the allegory is lost sight of. They had in view a general idea of idealizing Christianity, or rather religious enthusiasm, by adding to it various mysteries and religious vows; but beyond this, the only principle which they observed was that of giving full scope to the imagination. Their motto might well have been one like that of Keats—

"Ever let the Fancy roam,
Pleasure never is at home;
At a touch sweet Pleasure melteth,
Like to bubbles when rain pelteth;
Then let wingèd Fancy wander
Through the thought still spread beyond her:
Open wide the mind's cage-door,
She'll dart forth, and cloudward soar.
O sweet Fancy, let her loose!"

POSTSCRIPT.—I have assumed the copy of the Alliterative Poem in the Vernon MS. to be unique. It may here be noted that in MS. 8252 belonging to Sir Thomas Phillipps, there is a fragment of 2 leaves, said to be in prose, entitled “Joseph,” of which the first two words are—“After tyme.” I at one time thought it possible that this might be some part of the poem here printed, but, by the kindness of Miss Toulmin Smith, have ascertained that the subject of it is “a fragment of the Story of the Flight into Egypt, giving an account of the origin and virtues of the rose of Jericho—which sprang up wherever Mary rested on her journey—and of the growth, virtues, and gathering of ‘Bawme,’ which comes from bushes that grow in the garden in Egypt where she dwelt seven years.”

I take the opportunity of mentioning here a recently published book, by Dr Gustav Oppert, on the myths of the Graal and Prester John. It is entitled “Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte;” second edition, Berlin, 1870; London, Trübner and Co. The same author has written an interesting paper having reference to Prester John, read Jan. 11, 1870, and printed in the Journal of the Ethnological Society of London.

As to the “rode of northdore of london,” mentioned at p. 44, l. 217, I find that Peacock mentions it as a favourite object of pilgrimage:—“wherfore it is vein, waast, and idil forto trotte to Wa[ll]singam rather than to ech other place in which an ymage of Marie is, and to the *rode of the north dore at London* rather than to ech other roode in what euer place he be.”—Peacock’s Repressor, ed. C. Babington, i. 194.

I observe in a book-catalogue the following entry:—

“SAINT GREAALE. Cest lhystoire du sainet Greeal Qui est le premier liure de la Table ronde. Lequel traicté de plusieurs matières recreatiues. Ensemble la queste dudit sainet Greaal. Faiete par LanceLOT, GALAAD, Boors, et Perceval. Qui est le dernier liure de la table ronde, 2 vols. in 1, woodcuts, black letter, very fine copy in morocco extra, gilt edges by Duru, £100. Paris, Philippa Le Noir, 1523.

One of the rarest and most sought of the Prose Romances of Chivalry, pronounced by Dunlop the scarcest of those relating to the Knights of the Round Table.”

[Joseph of Aramathe.]

[*Vernon MS. fol. 403.*]

.... sire," he seis · "and sonenday is nouwe."

"It is now
Sunday," said
Joseph.

¶ þenne alle lauhwhen an heiȝ · þat herden his wordes,

"Hit is two and fourti winter," þei seiȝen · "trewely
forsoþe,

"You have been
in prison 42
years," they said.

Sijen þou souȝtest þis put · and to prison eodest!" 4

"Now I þonke my lord," seide Ioseph · "þat lente
me of his grace;

"It seemed but 3
nights!"

me þinkeþ but þeo niȝt · al þis ilke þrowe."

¶ þenne Ioseph askes fontston · & is I-folwed blyue;
þei folewen him and his wÿf · & with him ful monye. 8

¶ Sijen com vaspasians · and was furst sped,
In þe nome of þe fader · Ioseph him folewede,

Joseph baptizes
Vespasian.

And hedde I-turned to þe feyþ · fifti with him-seluen.

¶ Sijen he fette his fader with a ferde · and aȝeyn
fondet, 12 Vespasian and his
father make the
Jews who had hid
themselves leap
down into the
pit.

þer þei bosked hem out · þat hudden hem in huirenes,
Made hem to huppe · half an hundred foote,
forte seche boȝem · þer þei non seiȝen.

¶ þus þei ladden þe lyf · and lengede longe, 16
þat luyte liked his leyk · þer as he lengede.

¶ Feole flownen for fert · out of heore cuþþe
in-to Augrippus lond · was heroudes eir,
þere monye lenginde weore · for-let of heore oun. 20
Many flee for fear
to the land of
Agrippa.

Joseph is bidden
to go away from
Jerusalem.

PEn com a vois to Ioseph · and seide him þise wordes,
Biddes him and his wyf · and his sone eke,
And alle þat þey mouȝten gete · and to god tornen,
¶ Gon out of Ierusalem · & prechen hise wordes, 24
And neuer more come aȝeyn · whon þei weore enes
þenne.

Next day they all
start.

¶ In þe morwe he was sone boun · don as he biddes ;
Ioseph and his cumpayne · keueren on swiȝe.
¶ Ioseph ferde bi-foren · and þe flote folewede ; 28
in-to þe lond of betanye · þis buirnes nou wenden.
¶ þei carke for here herbarwe · summe be-hynde ;
whon Ioseph herde þer-of · he bad hem not demayȝen :
“ He þat ledes vs þis wei · vre herborwe schal wisse.” 32
þei founden hit newely · so wel weore þei neuere.
¶ A-morwe þei weore diȝt · and don hem to ȝonge,
And come to a Forest · with floures ful feire,
þat was called Argos · þat þe kyng ouȝte, 36
in þe lond of damas · þe cuntre was dere.

They come to the
forest of Argos,
in Damascus.

Christ bids
Joseph to make
a little box for the
blood,

Penne spekes a vois to Ioseph · was Ihesu crist him-
selue,
“ Iosep[h], marke on þe treo · and make a luytel
whucche,
Forte do in þat ilke blod · þou berest a-boute ; 40
¶ whon þe lust speke with me · lift þe lide sone,
þou schalt fynde me redi · riȝt bi þi syde,
And, bote þou and þi sone · me no mon touche.

and to preach the
gospel,

And Iosep[h], walk in þe world · & preche myne
wordes 44

to þe proudest men · A parti schul þei here.

¶ þauȝ þei þe of manas · melen, and þe þreten,
beo þou no þing a-dred · for non schal þe derue.”

¶ “ lord, I was neuer clerk · what and I ne cunne ? ” 48
“ Louse þi lippes a-twynne · & let þe gost worche ;
Speche, grace, & vois · schul springe of þi tonge,
& alle turne to.þi mouȝt · holliche atenes.”

trusting to the
power of the
Holy Ghost.

¶ þenne he wawes his fot · þe blod he with him fonges, 52
and in þe nome of þe fader · forþward he weendes.

Pei ferdan to A Cite · faste bi-syde,
þat was called sarras · þer sarsyns srongen,
Erest þorw Abrahames wyf · þat wonede þer-inne. 56
Ioseph teiȝ to non hous · bote euene to þe temple:
He seiȝ þe kyng þer he sat · and wuste þat he was Joseph hopes to
wraȝþed,

They come to
Sarras.

& hopede he scholde him · toward God turne;
For he and þo of Egipte · han werret to-gedere, 60
And þei discounfitede him han · and scaȝet ful ofte.

¶ þe kyng and his Baronage · a counseil bi-gonnen ;
he wolde haue red of his folk · and fare to hem gitte ;
& þei forsaken hit han · & he vnsauht sittes. 64

The king holds a
council.

“ **S**Ire,” seis Iosep[h] · “ or semblaunt is feble,
In gret Anguisse ȝe ben · þat nis not God greiþe ; Joseph promises
wolde ȝe herkene to me · icholde ow bi-heete,
He þat is mi foundeor · may hit folfull, 68
þat was ded on þe cros · & bouȝte us so deore ;
I am not worþi to seyn · moni of his werkes.”

to help the king,
conditionally.

¶ “ þou schewest A symple skil,” quaþ þe kyng · “ of-
scutered þou semest The king wonders
to speke of A ded mon · what may he don þer-ate ? ” 72
how Christ can
still have power,

¶ “ I schal sei ou,” quod Ioseph · “ & ȝe wol vndurstonde.”
“ tel on,” seis þe kyng · “ þi tale wol I here.”

and bids Joseph
explain.

“ **P**At tyme þat Augustus Cesar · was Emperour of
Rome,
þis reson bi-gon · þat I schal now rikenen, 76
¶ whon god sende an Angel · in-to Galile,
to A Cite, bi nome · Nazareth I-called,
to A Maiden ful meke · þat Marie was hoten,
And seide, ‘ Blessed beo þou flour · feirest of alle ! 80
þe holigost with-Inne þe · schal lenden and lihte ;
þou schalt beren a Child · schal Ihesu bi hoten.’

“ God sent an
angel to
Nazareth,

to tell Mary that
she should bear a
son.

She inquired,
‘How can that
be?’

he chaungede cher & seide · ‘hou scholde I gon with
chille

with-oute felauschupe of mon?’ · he bad hire not
demayen ; 84

¶ ‘þou schalt be mayden for him · bi-foren, and after.
Hollie with-outen wem · wite þou forsoþe.’

And heo graunte ðenne · to ben at his grace ;
And sone astur þat gretnede · þat greiþli Mayde. 88

**Jesus did many
miracles.**

Whon he wolde ben I-boren · at a Blisful tyme,
he dude Miracles feole · þat mony men seiȝen ;

þre kynges of þe Est · þroly þei comen,
And vche put him in hond · [a] present ful riche. 92

¶ Soone Heroudes þe kyng · herde of his burþe ;
He lette sle for his sake · selli mony children ;
Foure þousend and seue score · was þe sumine holden,
þat weore I-slawe for his sake · for certeyn hit telles ; 96
Bote þorwȝ þe grace of him-self · gete him heo ne miȝt.
His Mudder ay with him fleih · forþ in-to Egipre.

¶ Whon he com in-to þe lond · leeue þou forsoþe,
feole temples þer-inne · tulten to þe eorþe, 100
for heore false ymages · þut þei on leeueden.

[Fol. 403, col. 2.] Do a-wei þi Maumetes · þei han trayed þe ofte ;
Let breken hem a-two · and bren hem al to pouder,
Schaltou neuer gete grace · þorwȝ none suche goddes.”

**Do you burn all
your idols.”**

¶ ðenne seis þe kyng · “my wit mai not leeue, 105
þat þou ne melest wonderli · & most a-ȝeyn kuynde.
Hou scholde a child come forþ · with-oute flesely dedes
Bi-twene wommon and Mon? · my wit may not leeue.”

**The king cannot
believe this.**

“ **S**Ire,” seide Ioseph · “ þou hiȝtest me to heere, 109
And I schal preue þe tale · þat I fore telle.

“God saw how
men all went to
hell,

¶ whon god sat in his blisse · bosked in heuene,
He seiȝ þe peple þorw peine · passen in-to helle. 112

also wel þe holyeste · heold þider euene
as þe moste fooles ; · and þe fader þouȝte .

þat hit seemede nouȝt · and wolde his sone sende
forte bringe hem out þer-of · and þerfore he lilte" — 116 and sent forth His Son."

"**W**hat, mon ?" quaþ þe kyng · "þou castest þi-seluen.

Toldest þou not now bi-foren · he nedde neuer fader,
but elles, with-oute mon · I-bore of a Mayden ?

And þou seist now he has on · hou may þis sitte same ?"

¶ "He was Fader," quod Ioseph · "and for his sake called,
þat was gostliche his halt · ar he weore mon formed ;
And of two persones · sprong out þe þridde ;

þat was þe holigost · as I be-foren seide. 124

His godhede lees he nouȝt · þeiȝ he come lowe,
þat he nas god ay forþ · in his grete strengþe.

¶ I sei þe Fader was God · ar out was bi-gonnen,
Made alle þing of nouȝt · þorw miht of him one, 128
Dude þe prophetes to seye · þat hem-self nuste,
Bote as hit com heom to mouȝ · and meleden þe wordes.
þe kuynde of þe Moder · þat he on eorþe tok,
þat diȝede a-wei · for he hit most dredde. 132

Bote þe kuynde of his Fader · þat was þe furste kuynde,
Holliche euere he heold · for þat diȝede neuere.
Bote he was gostliche of Fader · and fleschliche of Moder,
So þat he com twies forþ · and bi two kuyndes." 136

bEnne seis þe kyng · "þe lengore I here,
þe lesse reson I seo · in þat þat þou rikenest.

¶ þou toldest furst of his Fader · and of his furste
kuynde,

And þeo persones · and alle þei ben goddes." 140

¶ "þe, sire, bote I pertly vndo · þat I haue þe profred,
I am worþi muche blame · what mai I seize more ?

¶ þe sone, I tolde bi-fore · fongede vr kuynde,
tok flesch and blod · in a feir mayden ; 144
his Godhede luttulde not · þeiȝ he lowe lihte,
þat he nas euere of o miȝt · mensked he worþe !"

"Now you say
Jesus had a
Father," says
the king.

"He was His
ghostly Father.

The Father is
God the Creator.

Jesus never lost
His Father's
nature, being
twice born."

The king is still
more confused.

"The Son took
on Him man's
nature, but lost
not His God-
head."

¶ þe kyng fette forþ · feole of his clerkes,
to spute with Ioseph · þat spedes hem luite. 148

Joseph defeats
all who dispute
with him.

Ioseph tok þe holy writ · and tei for his teeme,
and destruyede heore tale · with-inne þreo wordes.

¶ þe ky[n]g bi-heold on his face · and on his limes
lowore,

Sayȝ he was barefot · and bar him in herte, 152

The king admires
Joseph,

He¹ hedde I-ben of heiȝ blod · hedde he ben I-bosket,
And a ferli feir mon · and witerli him rewes.

¶ “what hettestou,” seis þe kyng · to Iosep[h] þenne.
“Ioseph of Aramathie · is mi nome called.” 156

and asks his
name.
“Joseph of
Aramathie.”

“I schal sei þe, Ioseph · as my wit þinkes,
þow semest not ful good clerk · to kenne suche wordes ;
þe tale is heiȝ in him-self · þat þou of tellest,
Hit is ful þester to me · & moni a mon eke. 160

¶ I schal scie þe, Ioseph · I haue to done swiþe ;
I may not wel lenge now · to-morwe meet me heere ;
þow schalt haue liueraunce of In · and al þat þe neodes ;
whon vre leyser is more · vre lustnynge is bettre.” 164

¶ “I haue felauschupe wiþ-outen,” seis Ioseph · “wel a-
boute fifti,

Boþe wymmen and men · þat mote wiþ me Inne.”

The king sends
for them all,
and inquires
about Joseph's
son, named
Josaphet.

¶ þe kyng lette fette hem forþ · bi-foren him to seo,
what leodes þei beon · and where þei weore bornen ;— 168
“I trouwe þat beo þi sone” · bi Iosaphe he seide.

¶ “Ze, sire, so he is · for soþe as I þe telle.”

“Con he out of cleryge ?” · seis þe kyng þenne.

“leeue me forsoþe, sire · þer liues no bettre.” 172

All are well
lodged.

¶ þe kyng lette lede hem · in-to toun lowe,
to a feir old court · and Innes hem þere.

Now we leuen Ioseph · and of þe kyng carpen ;
As he lai at niht · keuered in bedde, 176
In þreo þouȝtes he was · and þat weore þis ilke :
¶ On for his grete folk · þat him wiþ-saken hedde ;

¹ MS. “He he hedde.”

The king at
night had *three*
cares,

¶ A-noþur for Iosep[h]s tale · þat wolde fayn he tornede;
 ¶ þe þridde, How God scholde wiþ-outen wem · wonen in a Mayden. 180
 the *third* being how God could dwell in a maiden.

¶ **H**enne he seih in his chaumbre-flor · þeo¹ souht vp at enes. All at once he sees three trees, with equal stems,

þe braunches on heiȝ weoren · alle of o lengþe ;
 Bote þe bark of þat on · semede dimmore but one had a darker bark.

þen ouþer of þe oþer two · trouwe þou forsoþe ; 184

¶ þat signede Ihesu crist · for sake² of vre kuynde,
 was nout out-wiþ so cler · bote wiþ-inne he was clene.

¶ He calles on his chaumberleyn · to kennē vncouþes, He calls his chamberlain.
 And he rises a-non · and for ferd falles. 188

And he feres³ him vp · and bad him not ben ferd ;
 " þer schal falle non euel · of þat is here formed."

¶ þei lihten two torches · and to þis treos wenten ; They examine the trees.
 þei weore semeli bi-neoþe · þei mihte not seo þe heiȝþe,
 srongen wiþ gret sped · of a good spice. 193

On vche braunche was a word · of þeo maner enkes ;
 Gold and Seluer he seis · and Asur forsoþe.

¶ " 'þis makeþ,' " quod þe wiht · " þe marke of gold ; "

¶ " And 'þis sanes,' " quaþ þat wiht · " þe seyne of seluer ;
 And 'þis elanses' · as þe Asur kennes." [Fol. 403 b, col. 1.]

¶ þe kyng nuste wel forte seye · bi wit þat he hedde,
 wheþer þat he seȝe · was on forte sigge, 200
 oþer two, or þeo · or what he miȝte telle.

¶ þe kyng was a-bascht · and to his bed buskes ;
 and his Chaumberleyn so a-ferd · þat neih he felde I-swowen.

¶ þenne he seiȝ a newe chaumbre-wouȝt al of bordes, 204
 a dore honginge þer-on · haspet ful faste, Next he sees a partition of boards, with a child coming through a door in it.

¹ May we read " þeo treos," inserting *treos* on the strength of l. 191? The passage seems partly corrupt.

² MS. " forsake."

³ So in MS. Perhaps we should read " beres." See the Glossarial Index.

A child cominge þorw · his come was nout seene,
 Siþen lenges a while · and aȝein lendedes,
 wiþ-outen faute oþer faus · as þei fore seiden. 208

The king hears a
voice.

¶ þenne spekes a vois · and on heiȝ sigges,
 “ king, haue þou no ferli · of þat is heere formed,
 for so god with-outen wem · wende in a Mayden.”

Joseph prays to
God.

Now we leuen þe kyng · and of Ioseph carpen ; 212
 “A ! lord !” quaþ Ioseph · “ how may þis limpe
 Of þis king Eualak · þat con not vnderstonde ?

Bote ȝif I turne him bi þis poynt · ar he henne passe,
 beos he neuermore I-tornd · treweli I trouwe. 216

“Thou who
didst speak
through Moses,

Nou I be-seche þe, Ihesu · as þou art ful of Ioye,
 þat speke to hem of Israel · þorw Moyses speche,
 And bad þei schulde leeuen · for no-skunus þinge,

In non oþur straunge god · bote stedefast þe holde : 220

didst save
Daniel,

And wuestest daniel in þe put · þat he was inne I-worpe
 Among þe leones feole · þat he no scaþe laȝte :

And for-ȝaf þe Maudeleyn · mckelyche hire sunnes :
 And siþen seidest to me · mi preyere scholde sitte ; 224

and forgive the
Magdalene,

þou heiȝtest holiehurche · to haunsen hire strengþe,
 to hiȝen þi godhed · hit helpes nout elles ;

grant me my
prayer.”

Nou, gloriouse kyng · graunte me mi boone.”

A voice bids him
to beget Galahad.

Penne spekes a vois · and on heiȝ sigges, 228
 “Ioseph, haue þou no care · þe kyng schal sone
 torne :

Go þou most to þi wyf · gete þou most nede
 A child, Galaad schal be hoten · þat goodnesse schal
 reise

þe Auenturus of Brutayne · to haunsen and to holden.”
 And he dos as he bad · and to his bed buskes. 233

Next day there is
a thunderstorm.

¶ In þe morwe he was vppe · and roises þis oþure.
 þenne hit þester bi-gon · and þonderde swiþe,
 þat þe graue quakede · and þei a-grisen alle. 236
 ¶ He bi-þenkes him þo · and to his whuelle weendes,

And feole preiers he made · þat Ihesu crist herde,
And spekes to hem · wiþ loueliche wordes.

Christ speaks to
Joseph,

¶ “I-blessed be ȝe to day · alle myne leoue children”—
And he tolde hem of his crucifying · hou he [þe] cros
souȝte, 241

And of heore fadres bi-fore · þat he fond vn-kuynde—
“Er þei speeken to me feire · and faynede me wiþ
wordes,

Bote þei hateden me · and hedden de-deyn. 244

Bote beo ȝe stable in oure fei · and foleweþ vre werkes,
for ȝe han more of þe lawe · þen prophetes hedden. bidding him to
be steadfast in
the faith.

¶ ȝei nedden bote þe holygost · and so ȝe han eke,
and siȝen bodilyche me · to ben at or wille. 248

¶ I nul not fastenen on þe sone · þe Fadres gultus,
I forȝine ow clene · þe harm þat I hedde.

And cum þou hider, Iosaphe · for þou art Iugget clene, “Josaphe, thou
art worthy; I
will confer on thee
a very great gift.”
And art digne þer-to · þat dos me to lyke ; 252
Ichul bi-take þe to-day · in a good tyme
on þe hiȝeste þing · holden on eorþe,
non oþer of me · hit murili to habben,
but elles vche mon of þe · þat takes hit aftur.” 256
He bad him lifte vp · and þe lide warpes :—

þenne he seos Ihesu crist · in a sad Roode,
and his fyue Angeles · þat forþ wiþ him stoden,
As red as þe fuir · and he hem bi-holdes. 260

Josaphe sees
Christ on the
cross, and five
angels, bearing

¶ þat on beres in his hond · a cros of queynte hewe ;
¶ þat oþer beres in his hond · þreod blodi nayles ;
¶ þe þridde þe Coroune · þat his hed keuerde ;

(1) the cross,
(2) the nails,
(3) the crown of
thorns, (4) the
lance, and (5) a
cloth.

¶ þe Feorþe, þe launce · þat lemede him wiþ-Inne ; 264

¶ And þe Fyfþe a blodi cloþ · þat he was inne i-braced,
whon he lay after slauht · in þe sepulcre.

¶ þenne he falles for fere · forþ wiþ þe wȝueche ;
Eft he bad him rise vp · he ros wiþ þe bone. 268

¶ þenne he sauh Ihesu crist · I-strauȝt vpon þe Roode,
whuche þe Angel by-fore · hedde in his hond ;

Next he sees
Christ stretched
out upon the
cross,

And þe þreo nayles · þat þe oþur bi-foren hedde,
In his honden and his feet · alle þei weore faste ; 272

and piered with
the lance.

¶ Siþen stiken wiþ þe spere · blod and watur louses ;
Bi-holdes toward hise feet · say fro hem renne ;
eornen al of red blod · romynge a-boute ;
Al priueliche his peyne · a-pertliche he sauh. 276

His father
reproves Josaphe,

WHi lengest þou," quod Iosep[h] · to his sone,
" so longe ?

And so stille liggest · lokynde in þe whueche ?"

but he bids him
also look in the
box.

"A ! Fader, touche me not · in þis ilke tyme,
For muche gostliche gracie · me is here I-graunted." 280

¶ þenne þei loken in atte wȝueche · loueliche boþe,
¶ þenne þei seȝen Ihesu crist · in þat ilke foorme,
þat heo seȝen him sodeynliche · whon heo furst comen
astur þe slauȝt to him · to þe sepulcre. 284

They see eleven
more angels, two
with basins, two
with cruets,

¶ þenne comen two Angeles · wiþ twayles white,
And eiþer bar in his hond · a basyn of seluer ;
Oþur Tweyne aftur hem · with cruetes sone,
and wasscheles wiþ haly water · with hem þei brouȝten ;
And oþer two after hem · with sencers *soone, 289
set wiþ riche stones · and a viole of sence.

two with censers :
[* Fol. 403 b,
col. 2.]

Gabriel himself
with a seat,

¶ þen com on, ' þe strengþe of god ' · gabriel I-hoten,
wiþ þe richeste sege · þat euer for secte seemes ; 292
And oþer two after him · wiþ crois and wiþ Mitre,
And oþure bouwynde after · wiþ vestimens sone.

two with cross
and mitre, and
two with
vestments.

Next an altar,
whereon was the
**DISH WITH
THE BLOOD.**

HE seiȝ an Auter I-cloþed · wiþ cloþes ful riche ;
Vppon þat on ende lay · þe launce and þe nayles,
And vppon þat oþer ende · þe disch wiþ þe blode, 297
and a vessel of gold · geynliche bi-twene.

Christ consecrates
Josaphe as
bishop,

¶ Ihesu made for to greiþe Iosaphe · in þat geyn weedle,
And saerede him to Bisschop · wiþ boto his hondes, 300
And tolde him of his vestimens · what þei signefyen ;
In vche Cite þere he come · sacren on he scholde
wiþ þe selue oygnemens · þat he to him vrouȝte,

And an-oyg[n]ten oþer kynges · þat to crist torneden. 304

¶ ȝit he leres him more · loueliche him-seluen—

telling him that
he has care
of men's souls,

"I beo-také þe her, Iosaphe · soules to kepe ;

ȝif eni þorw þi defaute · falle fro my riche,

At þe day of Iuggement · þou beost ioyned harde ; 308

¶ I seize, Ioseph þi fader · schal bodiliche hem ȝeme,

as Joseph his
father has of
men's bodies.

And þou gostliche · nou ȝemes hem boþe.

wiþ-drawe þe of þi vestimens · and do hem vp to holde ;

Go now to-ward þe court · þe kyng for to turne." 312

PEnne þei wenden heore wei · and to þe court ȝongen, They repair to
the palace.

And al a-boute þe paleys · haly water þei spreyned,

for mony a wikkede gost · woned hedde þere.

¶ wiþ-outen, on þe paleys · as þei bi passeden, 316

werdes of Ebreu · weren I-written of ȝore,

They find
written—
"Daniel called
this palace
Adventurous,"

And sein, 'daniel of Babiloyne · whon he fro Batayle
wente

Fro nabugodonosor · þe kyng þat him hade,

called þis paleis "Auntres" · and forsoþe seide, 320

þat hit scholde trewely · in sum tyme aftur,

called beo þe paleis · merueilouse for werkes,

or marvellous."

þat per scholde beo seyzen · þorw sonde of vr lord.'

¶ Bi þat was A Messager come · after þis men sone ; 324

whon þei comen to þe halle · þei maden þe signe

They come to the
hall.

on hem of þe verrey cros · and toward þe kyng eoden.

¶ þe kyng hedde geten him a clerk · on of þe beste,
nouȝwhere in heore lawe · was such a-noþer holden, 328
to take Ioseph in his tale · ȝif he wrong seide.

The king employs
a clerk to
dispute with
them,

¶ "þou toldest me ȝusterday," quod þe kyng · "þou
wost wel þi-seluen,

Of þise þre persones · and alle þei beoþ goddes ;

and reminds them
of yesterday's
discourse.

And siþen of a-noþer · wonder forsoþe,

332

þat Ihesu with-outen wem · won in a Mayden."

"þat I tolde þe þo · I telle þe ȝitte ;
I nul forsake my word · for no maner þinge."

The clerk
disputes, and
denies the
Trinity.

Op stondes þis clerk · and seis him þise wordes, 336
 “**ȝ**if þise þeo persones · þat þou þe fore puttest
 han bote on godhede · þei nare not goddes alle ;
ȝif vchon haue a godhede · I graunte, bi him-selue,
 I seie þat on is also good · as þe þeo hole. 340

¶ þat on is a verrei god · I sei bi god greyþe ;
 þis oþer two nare none · in no maner þinge.”

He sprong in his sputison · and speek harde wordes,
 þat Ioseph hedde no space · while his speche laste. 344

¶ Op stondes Iosaphe · and þe fader sittes,
 Speek wiþ an heiȝ vois · þat al þe folk herde,
 “Nou þe greteþ, sir Euelak · God of israel
 þorw his seruauntes mouþ · and seye þe I wile. 348

¶ þou hast I-seȝe to-niht · signefies summe,
 þow hast diskeueret hem · þer he nis not payet,
 Heere þou schalt ha vengaunce · verreyliche and sone,
 þat al þi reume schal seo · þat þou wrong suggest ; 352

¶ For he, þis ilke Tholomer · þat þou weore wont to
 hunte,

þat is kyng of Babiloyne · hideward he buskes ;
 þeo dayes with þe niht · nou he þe schal drieue,
 Siþen lacche þe atte laste · and þe þi lyf bi-reuen ; 356
 He þat dorste nere ȝut · þe nouȝwhere a-byde,
 nou schal winne his wille of þe · for þi wrong bi-leeue.”

¶ þenne stod vp þis clerk · and wolde eft dispute ;
 þenne him þouȝte þat on · heold him bi þe tongue, 360
 And he roungede an heiȝ · and rored so harde,
 his eȝen flowen out of his hed · and biforen him fallen.

¶ **H**e ne vp sturten þe folk · and wolden wiþ wepene
 sle Iosep[h] and his sone · for sake¹ of þis
 oþer ; 364

And þe kyng Eualae · cauȝte his swerd sone,
 And beo þe miht of Iubiter · he swor to hem alle,

and says that
Tholomer, king
of Babylon,
will take the king
and kill him.

The clerk again
gets up to speak,
but his eyes fly
out of his head.

King Evelak
protects Joseph,

¹ MS. “forsake,” as in l. 185.

weore eny of heom so wood · heom forte founle,
he wolde felle hem feye · ar þei þenne ferden.

368

¶ þenne seis þe kyng · “mai þer out me helpe
forto sauе me out · ȝif þat hit so lym[þ]e?”

¶ “ȝe, sire,” seis Iosaphe · “to fonge þe trouþe.”

“And what trouwest þou of þis mon · tides him hele?”

“Gos to oure Maumetes · and proues heore mihtes.”

¶ þenne þei taken þis mon · and towen him to þe
temple,

A-non þei brouȝten him forþ · bi-foren þe moste mayster,

Calleþ vpon an ymage · þat Appollin hette, 376 Appollin will
and wol not onswere a word · þauh þei scholde swelten.

¶ þenne spekes an ymage · in a-noþer huirne,

þat ȝe clepeþ Martis · “nouȝt is þat ȝe mene ;

Appolin is bounden · and braset so faste, 380 Mars says
he may not speke a word · for no þing alyue.”

Henne Ioseph hente a staf · þat stod him bi-syde,

strikes to þis Appolin · with a strong wille,

þat his nekke to-barst · and brak al to pouder, 384 Joseph breaks
and þe fend of his bodi · fleyȝ to þe lufte.

¶ þenne þei leuen him þer · and goþ *toward oþure ; [* Fol. 401, col. 1.]

¶ þe kyng bowes to his pors · him offring to beode.

“Let beo,” seis Iosaphe · “I leeue þe beo bettre ; 388

For and þou profre him eny · I schal do [þe] to preue,
vpon sodeyne deþ · þou schalt sone dye.”

¶ “Do tel me,” seis þe kyng · “I haue þe muche trusste, The king
Of þis tholomer and me · hou schal hit tyden ?” 392 questions another
idol,

And he onsweres aȝeyn · “I dar not wel sigge,
for þis cristene men · þat vmbé mong ȝongen.

¶ Se ȝe not þe tweyne Angeles · ledien hem a-boute ? who says he sees
þat on bereþ a cros · þat oþer a swerd kene ; 396 two angels with
Joseph.

¶ wher-so-euere þei ben stad · such is heore strengþe,
Vre maystrie is nouȝt · in no maner þinge.”

¶ þenne seis Iosaphe · “for us ne schalt þou wonde ; Josaphe conjures
Vppon þe heiȝe trinite · I halse þe to telle, 400 the idol to tell
all;

but he cannot.

A messenger
comes, telling of
Tholomer's
victories,

and how he has
110,000 men.

The king
assembles his
men.

They are all to
meet at the
Castle of Carboy.

Joseph discloses
Evelak's early
history, saying,
"My father was
a cobbler."

Thou didst
serve two French
damsels in
Augustus' court.

Spek al þat þou const · & let þe kyng here."

"Of newe þing þat is to come," he seis · "con I not
telle."

Bi þat was a Messager i-come · and to þe kyng menes,
And seis him þat tholomer · has taken of his londes.

¶ "þe riche Cite of Nagister · nomen he has forsoþe ;
Siþen he keueres vppon · and takes bi-fore clene 406
þe Castel of a-longines · and hiderward he ioynes,

with sixti þousent," he seide · "of clene men of Armes,
And Fifti þousend fot-men · þat redi beþ to fihte, 409
þei han geten þat holt · for certeyn soþe ;
þer is non in þat lond · þat schal hem wiþstonden."

¶ þenne þe kyng was a-ferd · I hete þe forsoþe, 412
leste þe tale of Iosaphe · ferede trewe.

PE kyng boskes lettres a-non · to bounen his bernes,
Comaundes hem to meeten him · tymely on þe
morwen,

At þe Castel of Carboye · þer he beden hade, 416
was fiftene myle · fro sarras I-holden,
And oþer fiftene myle · fro þenne as þei leïzen.

¶ þenne Ioseph takes him forþ · and seiþ him þis
wordes,
"wostou what þou do, kyng · nou þat þou wendes ?
Of þi comyng a-ȝein · const þou not telle." 421

¶ Such signe me is tauȝt · þou art of cun symple ;
forsoþe A mon was þi fader · þat couȝe schon a-mende !

¶ þat tyme þat Augustes cesar · was Emperour of Rome,
þou wast lenged in þe lond · þat þat lord ouȝte. 425
Fourti knihtes douȝtres · he wolde haue of fraunce,
forte souwe selk-werk · and sitten in his chaumbre.

¶ For þou were a feir child · þou weore I-fet to serue
twei feire maydenes · and wiþ þis mon lengedest. 429

¶ þei heolden þe of herre blod · þen þou boren weore ;
So þou souȝtes fro him · to þe erl of Surye.
So þou and his sone · vppon a day seten, 432

And þe woxen vn-sauȝt · and þou slouȝ him þere.
So þou come to þe kyng · þat þis kuȝþe auȝte ;
Seidest þou were a kniht · and in his court laftest.

Thon didst slay
the earl of
Syria's son,
and didst come to
the court of the
old king of
Sarras."

¶ He was an old mon · weried of werre, 436
And þou weore a ȝong mon · in þi grete strengþe.
For þou toke his enemy · and brouȝtest him to honde,
forþi he ȝaf þe þis lond · after his lyue.

Hit is not allynge to carpe, sire kyng · wher-of we
comen." 440

He takes non [hede] heere-to · bote askes him of þe
sweuene The king asks
about his dream.

þat he mette on þe niht · and bad he scholde him telle.

¶ "whon þat þou comest aȝeyn · wite þou schalt
forsoȝe,

þou miht haue more redi roume · my rikenyng to here !"

¶ Ioseph[e] takes his scheld · and schapes a-middles Josaphe makes a
A crois of red cloþ · and kennes him aftur, 446
whon his peril weore most · to crist he scholde preyen,
for þer scholde no mon verreili · þat vigore bi-holden,
þat he nis saaf þat dai · and his sore passed. 449

pEnne he buskes toward þe bente · þer þis oþer Evelak arrays his
byden, men.

He arayes his riche men · and rihtes hem swiþe.

A-non tholomers men · woxen þe biggore ; 452 Tholomer's men
sone beeren hem a-bac · and brouhten hem to grounde ;
get the best of it,

And þei tornede a-ȝein · þat tyme hit was non oþer.

¶ þei come bi tholomers tentes · vn-housed hem sone, but their enemies
Token holliche his stor · and a-wei streiȝten, 456 spoil their tents.
þat þei come to a Castel · faste be-syde.

¶ þe kyng was gon to pleye him · bi a water brimme,
þen com on prikynge · prest him a-ȝeynes. Evelak receives a
letter from his
queen,

He seide, "my ladi þe queene · ou a lettre sende, 460

Biddes ou wihtly be boun · to don as heo biddes."

And he redes hit forþ · and fond þer-on sone,

þat he scholde wiþ-drawe him · al a-wei þenne,

bidding him to
retreat.

Or elles tholomers folk · wol taken him þere ; 464

¶ Forþi heo wole þat he wite · and warnes him beo-time.

¶ “Ho has witered hire of þis · and ho has hire kenned ?”

He onsweres a-non · “sire, I not forsoþe.

Bote þe two cristene men · þat bydes ow at court, 468
in gret counsel han I-beo · I trouwe hit be þer a-boute ;”—

And he telles hem þenne · of þe qwene sonde
þorw counseil of Iosaphe · and Ihesu þei þonken.

Evelak learns
that Joseph and
his son have
warned the
queen.

The king collects
14,000 more men.

He sees 500 men
approaching,

their captain
being Seraphe,
his wife's brother.

[* Fol. 404, col. 2.]

Seraphe says the
queen has sent
him.

They go to meet
the enemy.

¶ **P**E kyng Boskes lettres a-non · to boune mo bernes ;
bi þat þe niȝt was a-weye · And þe day on þe
morwe, 473

þei hadden of newe folk · fourtene þousend.

He seiȝ vnder a wode-egge · siker bi hem-seluen
Freschliche I-liht · Fyne hondred men of Armes. 476

¶ On vn-castes his helm · and to þe kyng rydes,
And he kneuȝ him wel · he was his wyues broþer,
was I-called Seraphe · a ȝong Erl forsoþe,

and a douȝti þer-wiþ · in alle goode deedes ; 480

He milhte neuer gete loue of þe kyng · much * ne luyte,
ne good herte of him · and he non harm seruede.

He seide, “my ladi þe Qwene · me a lettre sende, 483
ȝif euere I halp hire at neode · I scholde hit now cuiþe ;
And I am come to þi wille · sire, wiþ þis kniȝtes.”

“Forsoþe,” he seis, “seraphe · so þou euele ouȝtest ;
Ofte I haue for-set þe · þat me sore forþinkes,
For euere þe kuynde wol be frend · for ouȝt þat mai
bi-falle.” 488

Now þei bouwe toward þe bente · þer þis oþere
houen ;

He arayes his riche men · and rihtes hem bettre,
þat þorw him reowen no res · þat his red vrouȝten.

- | | | |
|---|-----|---|
| ¶ penne seis Seraphe · "holdes ou stille, | 492 | Seraphe bids his
men die rather
than retreat. |
| And þenkes on, goode men · þe gref is oure childre ;
what wol bi-falle þer-of · and we ben confoundet. | | |
| Beter hit were douhtilyche · to diȝen on or ounne,
þen wiþ schendschupe to schone · and vs a-bak drawe." | | |
| þei han geten on hem · þe lengþe of a gleyue : 497 | | |
| ¶ whon Seraphe seiȝ þat men · þei miȝte l-seo sone
his polhache go · and proude doun pallede. | | |
| In þe þikkeste pres · he preuede his wepne, | 500 | Seraphe's pole-
axe breaks his
enemies' brains, |
| Breek braynes a-brod · brusede burnes, | | |
| Beer bale in his hond · bed hit a-boute. | | |
| He hedde an hache vpon heiȝ · wiþ a gret halue, | | |
| Huld hit harde wiþ teis · in his two hondes ; 504 | | |
| So he frusschede hem with · and fondede his strengþe, | | so that few can
escape him. |
| þat luyte miȝte faren him fro · and to fluiȝt founden. | | |
| ¶ þere weore stedes to struien · stoures to medlen, | | |
| Meeten miȝtful men · mallen þorw scheldes, | 508 | Mighty men meet
each other. |
| ¶ Harde hauberkes to-borsten · and þe brest þurleden. | | |
| Schon schene vpon schaft · schalkene blode. | | |
| ¶ þo þat houen vpon hors · heowen on helmes. | | |
| ¶ þo þat hulden hem on fote · hakken þorw scholdres. | | |
| mony swouȝninge lay · þorw schindringe of scharpe, | | Many lie
swooning, and
die. |
| And starf aftur þe deþ · in a schort while. | | |
| ¶ þer weoren hedes vn-huled · helmes vphaunset ; | | |
| harde scheldes to-clouen · on quarters fallen, | 516 | |
| slen hors and mon · holliche at enes. | | Horses and men
are slain. |
| ¶ E stiward of Eualak · in þe stour lafte,
lai streiht on þe feld · striken to þe eorþe. | | Evelak's steward
is slain. |
| ¶ Now Eualac and tholomer · twies han a-semblet ;
Seraphe takes of heore men · wel a two hundred, 521 | | Seraphe with 200
men makes for
a rock. |
| to wende to a Roche · was faste bi-syde. | | |
| Hedde þei geten þat holt · for certeyne soþe,
þei militen haue do muche harm · er þei han hem mihte. | | |
| ¶ penne com on wiþ a tale · and Tholomer he telles,
And seis him hou Seraphe · has his men serued ; 526 | | |

Tholomer's men
pursue him.

Seraphe slays a
knight on
horseback,

who was
Tholomer's
brother.

Seraphe is
wounded
severely.

Seraphe seeks
Evelak.

He had but 40
men against
5000.

Evelak uncovers
his shield, and
prays.

His broþer and a batayle · weore bosket bi-sydes,
And he sende him word · he scholde þider seeche,
And þei come swiftly vppon · and swengeden to-gedere.

¶ Seraphe was of hem wel war · and faste hem a-series ;
He mette a gome on an hors · with a gret route,
He hente vp his hachet · and huttes him euene, 532
Al to-hurles þe helm · and þe hed vnder.

wiþ þe deþ in his hals · downward he duppies,
and þat deruede hem muche · on þat oþer syde,
for þe kyng Tholomer · was treweli his broþer. 536

¶ þen Seraphe fondes in · he and fourti knihtes,

¶ þer þe batayle was stiffest · and of more strengþe.

¶ þenne þei fullen for grame · to Seraphe knihtes ;
þei han laft him a-lyue · but vnneþe seuene. 540

Sikerli þe seuene · weore slayen at þe laste,
Him wondet þer-wiþ · and wemmet so sore,
þat he was in swounyng · and fel to þe grounde.

¶ Sone þenne he starte vp · and streiȝte to his hache,
culles on mennes hedes · þat þei doun lyen, 545
Siȝen eacches his hors · and a-wei wendes.

Bote euer-more Seraphe · askes and cries,
“ where was Eualae ? ” · þe stour was so þikke. 548

¶ wel a fyne þousend men · of tholomeres halue
weore bytwene hem two · þat to him he ne mihte,

And he nedde bote fourti men · folewynde his brydel.
And þei were weri of-souȝten · and feor ouer-charged,
Of þe peple afurst · and þe pres after ; 553
luyte wonder hit was · so þey vrouȝt hadn.

Tholomer takes
Evelak prisoner.

PErne was Eualae taken · and woundet ful sore ;
And þe kyng tholomer · takes him to kepe, 556
Ferde in-to a forest · faste bi-syde,
ferte fallen him feye · er þei aȝeyn ferden.

¶ þenne he vn-keuered his scheid · & on þe eros bi-
holdes ;

He seiȝ a child strauȝt þer-on · stremyng on blode, 560

And he bi-souȝte him of grace · as he was godes foorme.

¶ þenne he seiȝ a whit kniht · comynge him a-ȝeines,
boþe Armure and hors · al as þe lilye,

A white knight
comes to his
rescue,

A red eros on his scheld · seemed him feire ; 564

Rydes to tholomer · rad wiþ þat ilke,

Baar him doun of his hors · and harmed him more,
strok him stark ded · þat he sturedene neuere.

and slays
Tholomer.

¶ Siȝen he fonges forþ · a ferly wepne, 568

fel hem feiȝ to his feet · þat him hedde folewed.

¶ þenne he horses Eualac · on tholomeres steede,
bowes toward þe batayle · bigly and swiþe.

The white knight
mounts Evelak
on Tholomer's
horse.

¶ Euer-more Eualac · askes and cries, 572

"where was Seraphe?" · and seiȝ him wiþ þat ilke,
wher seu e knihtes him han · sikerliche a-sayled,
and titli bi-gonnen · to take him bi þe bridel. 575

¶ þe white kniht wiþ his swerd · swyngede to hem sone ;
whon þe sixe weoren dede · þe seueþe a knyf * cauhte,
And wolde ha striken Seraphe · at a stude derne, [* Fol. 404 b,
vpon an hole of his helm · and he was so for-fouȝten col. 1.]
þat he hedde no space · spedly him-seluen 580
forto do him no dispit · þe sporn was his owne.

Seraphe is nearly
overpowered.

¶ whon Eualac þat sauȝ · he fel to þe grunde,
And Seraphe also · and boþe lye [a] swoune.

¶ þe white kniht lihtes doun · and boþe hem vp-liftes ; The white knight
þer nas no lynde so liht · as þise two leodes, 585 lifts up Evelak
whon þei blencheden a-houe · and eiþer seiȝ oþer.

and Seraphe.

¶ þenne seis Seraphe · "scheuȝ me myn hache,
and I schal note hit to-day · my strengþe is so newed."

Seraphe asks for
his axe.

¶ "Haue her-on," seis þe white kniht · "vpon my bi-
halue ; 589 The white knight
gives him one.

God sende þe þis · þat al þe grace lenes."

whon he hedde hit in honde · he heold hit þe betere,
And þe heuior bi fer · þen he bi-foren hedde ; 592

Nas þer ȝong mon ne old · þat ȝernloker wrouȝte
þen Eualac and Seraphe · wher-so-ener þei souȝten,
Also fresch as þe hauk · freschore þat tyme,

Evelak and
Seraphe are now
as fresh as hawks.

þen þei foundelen þidere · in heore furste come. 596
 But euer-more þe white kniht · hem þe place roumede,
 Hit falles not for to seiȝe · þe fere of his duntes.
 þer he lousede his hond · he leyde hem on Ronkes,
 and welde hem bi-foren · at his oun wille. 600
 ¶ þe stiward of Tholomer · stoffes hem to-gedere,
 and seis, “þei ben a-middles þe Reume · and mowe not
 hom reche,
 ne heo knowe not in the lond · forþi þei moten lenge.”
 ¶ þenne þe folk of þe Roche · hem in face kepten, 604
 maden þer a siker werk · and slowen hem vp clene.

Tholomer's
steward rallies
his men, and
advises a retreat.

The white knight
vanishes.

Seraphe wishes to
go home.

Eualac and Seraphe · wonder hem þhouȝte
 wher þe white kniht bi-eom · þat won hem þe
 prys ;
 þei nuste where he was · ne on whuche syde. 608
 ¶ þenne seis Seraphe · þat hom he wolde wende,
 He is woundet ful sore · to winnen his ese.
 ¶ “Trewely,” seis Eualac · “þow schalt wiþ me to
 court,
 And two wonderful men · þou schalt seo þere ; 612
 þei tolde me of vche a poynt · ar I fro home wente,
 al-to-gedere of þis werk · hou hit is wonne.”

The queen asks
Joseph what has
happened.

Joseph says the
king is victorious.

The queen offers
to be converted.

Nou we leuen þe kyng · and of Ioseph carpen,
 þat restes him in Sarras · bi-leued wiþ þe qweene.
 “Hou trouweston of my lord?” heo seis · “tydes him
 hele, 617
 Has he folfulsened þe sawes · þat þou bi-fore seidest?”
 “þe, þorw þe miht of god · þe maystrie is wonnen,
 And þorw his swete grace · þe sarrest is passed.” 620
 ¶ “þe, I wol bi-hote þe heer · þi lawe for to holden,
 whon þat my lord is eomen · þat schal I furst fongen.”
 “Do me sikernesse þer-to” · seis Ioseph þenne.
 ¶ “I wole my trouþe þe bi-take · I wol þe nouȝt trayse.”
 “Nay, þou hast non,” seis he · “for certeyn soþe, 625

þe han be fastned wiþ hem · þat ferden wiþ luitel."

"Tel me what is þin · and what hit signefyes?"

She asks him
what his faith is.

And he tolde hire a-non · trewely him-seluen,

628

And heo rikenede a-ȝeyn · radly and sone,

He finds she is a
Christian.

Also redili as he · and wonder he hedde.

¶ "I schal seiȝe þe, Ioseph · for certeyn soþe,

hou I tok e/istendom · and in what tyme.

632

while my moder lyuede · heo hedde an vuel longe,

Her mother had a
sore disease.

And souȝte in-to diuerse studes · and mihte haue non
hele.

¶ þenne wonede an hermite · faste bi-syde;

Semely vpon a day · þidere we souliten;

636

Heo bad þis hermyte · he scholde hire hele sende.

¶ 'I am sinful as þou,' he seis · 'I mai þe non graunte.'

¶ 'No mak þi preyere to him,' heo seis · 'þat þin hope
is inne?'

She asked a
hermit to pray
for her.

¶ 'woldestou leene vpon him,' he seis · 'I wolde þe
bi-hote,

640

þat þou scholdest ben hol · ar þou henne eodest.'

¶ He made hire to knele a-doun · and a bok braddle,

The hermit made
the mother kneel
down,

Radde a gospel þer-on · and bad hire vp rise,

and she was
healed.

And heo was lihtned of hire euel · in a huytel stounde.

¶ þenne heo seide to me · 'douȝter ful deore,

645

wolton beo as I am · and on þis mon leue?'

And I wepte water warm · and wette my wonges,

The daughter
said she can only
believe upon one

And seide his bert was so hor · I bad not on him leue.

And he seide to me · 'douȝter, he is feirore,

649

þat þi moder has I-helet · nou in þis tyme,

þen I or þou · or out þat is formed.'

¶ And I tolde him a-ȝeyn · 'and he so feir weore

652

who is as fair
as her own
brother.

as my broþer is at home · I wolde on him leue.'

¶ 'Sikerly, douȝter,' he seis · 'so may grace sende

þat þou miȝt see him þi-self · ar þow henne seche.'

þ Enne com Ihesu crist · so eler in him-seluen,

656

Jesus Christ
appeared to her,

aftur þe furste blusch · we ne miȝte him bi-holden,

And a wynt and a sautor · whappede us vmbe,
we weore so wel of vr-self · we muste what we duden.
He vsede of Goddes bord · & a writ brouhte,

and she was
conver ed;

660
bi-tauȝte me and my moder · muryly to holden ;
þus cristendom I tok · in þat ilke tyme.”

¶ “whi hastou let so longe · þi lord þis lyf leden ?”

but dared not tell
her husband.

“Sire, forsoȝe,” heo seis · “syker I ne dorste, 664
He is so feel in him-self · for no þing be-knownen,
Bote herkene of god · whon he his grace sende.

¶ Hastou not herd þi-self · hou euel he was to torné ?”

The king returns,

Now þe kyng comes to sarras · and mony on him
suwen ; 668

As sone as he com hom · I hete þe forsoȝe,
He askede after a-non · nomeliche þeose tweyne,
Sette him on *his bed · and hem on eiȝer syde.

“A ! Ioseph,” seiþ þe kyng · “soȝe aren þi wordes, 672
þat þou toldest me furst · ȝor foundeour be blesset !”

¶ “Ho is þat ?” seis Seraphe · and [he] onswerde
sone,

“he þat halp þe wiȝ sound · fro þe seu knihtes”—

Tolde hem vche a poynt · þat þei vrouȝt haden ; 676

Hou he wuste þeroft · wonder hem þouȝte.

A knight appears
who has lost an
arm.

Penne com on fro þe fift · þat foule was wemmed,
was striken of þat on Arm · and bar hit in þat
oþer.

¶ þen Ioseph asked þe kynges scheld · And bad þat
mon knele, 680

þe arm helede aȝeyn · hol to þe stompe.

Evelak's shield
restores the arm.

¶ þenne com Seraphe · and fullouȝt furst askes.
In þe nome of þe fader · Ioseph him fulwede,
And calles him Naciens · and his nome tornde : 684
he was þe forme þat day · þat songede trouȝe.

¶ whon he Baptised was · þis oþere bi-heolden,
Heom þouȝte he leomede as liht · al on a lowe ;

Joseph baptizes
Seraphe by the
name of Naciens.

¶ þei seȝen þe holy-gost · at his mouþ descenden, 688 The Holy Ghost
And he speek þenne · þat bi-foren ne kneuȝ.
descends on him.

Penne com he wiþ þe sore Arm · þat þorw þe grace
was holpen ; .

In þe nome of þe fader · Ioseph him folwed,
clepen him Cleomadas · and callen him after. 692

¶ þenne com þe kyng Eualac · and fullouȝt askes ;

In þe nome of þe fader · Ioseph him folwede,
Called him Mordreyns · ‘a lat mon’ in trouþe.

¶ þen com þe folk · to Iosaphe so þikke, 696

He tok a basin of gold · in boþe two his hondes,

Vppon þe heiȝe trinite · he let water hiȝe,
And hedde fulwed bi non · mo þen fyue þousend.

¶ þenn seis Iosaphe · þat Ioseph his fader 700

mot a-byden him · and dwelle þer stille,

¶ while þat he and Naciens gon · nouþer þei musten,
forte cristene þe folk · and casten þe false.

¶ But þere an vnsely kyng · in prison hem caste, 704 A king puts
wiþ mucþ serwe to him-self · siker atte laste ;
Joseph in prison,

¶ For þe kyng Mordreyns · com with such strengþe,
forte liuere hem out · on lyue he lafte none.

¶ Siþen þei bi-tauȝten þe blod · twei burnes to holden,
And þei lenden of þe toun · and leuen hit þere. 709 Joseph's company
leave Sarras.

The Lyfe of Joseph of Armathy.

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[The Lyfe of Ioseph of Armathy.]

[Leaf 1.] ¶ Here after foloweth a treatyse taken out of a boke whiche somytyme Theodosius the Emperour founde in Iherusalem in the pretorye of Pylate of Ioseph of Armathy.¹

[Leaf 2.] **F**Or asmoche as oftentimes grete doubtes & doubtfull thynges deceyueth the reders / therfore all doubtes sette a parte ye shall se dyuers thynges extracte of the veray true & probate assereyons of hystoryal men touehyng and concernyng thanquytes of thonourable monastery of oure lady in Glastenburye. After the tyme that our sauour Ihesu cryste was put vnto deth by passyon of the crosse & all thynges were fully complete whiche were wryten and spoken of hym by holy prophecye. That holy man Ioseph of Armathy came vnto Pylate and asked of hym the body of our sauour Ihesu cryste / whan y^e body was graunted to hym he wrapped it in a fayre whyte clothe and interyd it in a tombe newly made where neuer man was buryed in / what tyme the Iewes had parfyte knowlege that this Ioseph had so worshypfully brought the body of cryst in erthe / they thought vtterly in theyr myndes and kest so also the meanes how they myght set handes vpon hym / & one named Nychedemus and many dyuers other y^e whiche were the veray true louers and iust aduocates of our sauour fledde and kepte them seerete / excepte onely the sayd Ioseph & Nychedemus whiche full boldly presented them selfe & made rehersall vnto y^e Iewes vnder these wordes / what sholde moue you to be dyspleased w^t vs for asmoche as we haue buryed y^e body of Ihesu cryst / knowe ye full well sayd Ioseph & Nychedemus to y^e Iewes y^t y^e haue mysdone agaynst y^e ryghtfull

¹ Beneath is a cut of the crucifixion with "Ihesus nazarenus rex iudeorum" at the top, and bordered with foliage. The same cut is repeated on the back of the leaf.

man / ye east ne thyke not in your myndes the grete benefytes he hathe done and shewel to you ye haue for his grete goodnes erucyfyed hym & with a sharpe spere wounded hym. The Iewes herynge those wordes set hande on Ioseph and closed hym in an house where was no wyndowe / & annas & cayphas sealed the dore vpon the locke and assygned and deputed certayne¹ men to kepe hym and watche hym / and his felowe Nychodemus was let goo at lyberte. They intreated Ioseph soo vngoodly for as moche that he was the man that desyred the body of Ihesu cryst / and was the pryncipall mouner and begynner that y^e body was so worshypfully interyd & buryed / after this was done vpon theyr sabbat daye they gaderyd them in a companye y^e chefe rulers of the temple and caste theyr myndes togyder how & by what maner of dethe they myght destroye Ioseph & whan they were all in fere² Annas and Cayphas were commaunded by theym to present Ioseph for as moche as they had sealed y^e dore where he was inclosed in & whan theyr scales were broken & the dore opened Ioseph was gone. Than they sent out spyes to seke hym & fynably he was founde in his owne cyte called Aramathya / & whan they had redy tylynges & perfyte knowlege of it / bothe chefe rulers & all the comynalte of the Iewes injoyed gretely & thanked y^e verray god of Israell y^t it was knownen where Ioseph was become whiche was thus inclosed vnder kepyng warde and custodye. Thenne they gadred in a multytude and they the whiche were pryncipalles and heedles preposynge this questyon and sayd what meanes myghte we fynde that we myght craftely hane Ioseph vnto vs and so for to speke with hym. Thenne they *concluded generally that an [* Leaf 3.] epystle sholde be wryten vnto hym / and this was the effete of the letter. Ioseph peace be with the and with all thy company. Nowe we knowe full well that we haue full greuously offended god and the / therfore we praye the vouchsaue too come vnto vs that we maye comen with the for we meruaylle gretely how thou was taken out of the place in y^e whiche thou was putte / we knowlege ourselfe vnto the that we haue malygned sore agayn the / wherfore almyghty god hathe deluynered y^e that our wycked counseyll and vnhappye mynde myght not herte the / therfore worshyppefull Ioseph whiche

¹ Printed cretayne.

² i.e. *in-fere* = together.

arte well beloued amoung all people / peace be w^t the. Thenne this epystle made and wryten they chose seuen persones amoung them all whiche were the best and moost synguler frendes that Ioseph had & sayd vnto them / whan ye go forth take your way in to Aramathia vnto Ioseph & grete hym well in our behalve and take vnto hym this our epystle / whan y^e seuen persones electe & chosen had theyr full answer with theyr lettredelyuered anone they came to y^e cyte of Aramathya where Ioseph was and full louyngely salued hym shewynge theyr comynge & the cause gyuynge vnto hym y^e epystle which receyued them full curteysly / and whan he had ouerlocked the lettredelyuered knewe the effecte thenne he sayd these wordes. Blessyd be my lorde god of Israell whiche hathe delyuered and saued me that my blode hath not be shed nor I destroyed / blessed be my lorde god the whiche hathe kepte me vnder his wynges. Thenne Ioseph in token of loue & peace kyssed the .vii. persones whiche were sente in message vnto hym and full kyndely hadde them in to his house. And vpon the nexte daye after he toke his asse and walkynge kepte them company vnto Iherusalem. And whan the Iewes herde of his comynge they wente agaynst hym and in their metynge sayd with one voyce peace be in thy comynge fader Ioseph / and he resaluted them vnder this maner and sayd. Peace be with you and amoung you all and there they kyssed hym all / thenne Nychodemus receyued hym in to his house and made hym a grete dyner / vpon a daye whan the Iewes were gadered togyder Annas and Cayphas sayd vnto Ioseph / shewe thou now before y^e god of Israell & openly declare vnto vs suche thynges as we shall examyn the of for as moche as it is not vnknowen that we were sore greued for by cause thou lettest bury the body of Ihesu cryste and therupon we enclosed the in a preuy house and the morowe we sent to haue spoken with the and myght not fynde the / wherfore we meruaylled gretely and were sore affrayed of it how this myghte be vnto this tyme that we se the nowe / therfore whyles thou arte presente certefye vs verely howe this mater was brought that thou was thus secretye conueyed awaye. Ioseph dydayned not to gyue them answere but sayd vnto them boldeley. What tyme ye closed me in that house on godefrydaye the morowe vpon whiche is the sabbate

daye in the mydnyghte whan I was besy in my prayers to desyre god to be my helpe and socour / sodeynly in y^e meane tyme y^e house that I was in was taken vp by y^e foure angles. And I sawe Ihesus bryghter thenne *ony lyght that euer I sawe afore and for [* Leaf 4.] grete fere I fell downe to the erthe / thenne he toke me by the hande frome the grounde and wyped my face with a rose and kyssed me and sayd vnto me be not aferde Ioseph loke vpon me and knowe thou full well that I am he. Thenne loked I vp and called hym mayster Helyas supposyng that he hadde ben Hely the prophete / thenne he spake vnto me and sayd I am not Hely but I am Ihesus whose boody thou letest be buryed / thenne for by cause I was somdele doubtfull of it I sayd vnto hym yf thou be he shewe me y^e tombe wherin I layde the. Thenne he toke me by y^e hande and broughte me vnto the place where I interyd hym. Furthermore he shewed me the clothe in y^e whiche I wrapped his body and also the sudarye that I bounde his hede withall. Thenne these thynges seen I knewe well that it was Ihesus and I honoured hym as my dutye was reeytyng these wordes. Blessyd be he that is come in the name of god. Thenne he toke me by the hande and soo ledde me in myn house in the Cyte of Aramatya & sayd vnto me reste thou here peacybly these fortye dayes go not forth frome thy house. And I shall goo vnto my dyscyples that hath grete luste for to se me. And this sayd and done. Ihesus vanysshed awaye. Thenne after these fortye dayes were hole and fullye complete Ioseph of Aramatya abone reherced stedfastly fyxed his mynde in the feruente lone of the fayth / gaue hym selfe to the dyseyplyne and doetryne of saynt Phylyp the apostle of our blessyd lorde Ihesu Cryste. And whan that he was suffycyently instructe in his lore and techynge / bothe he and his sone Iosephes receyued of saynt Phylyp the holy sacrament of baptysme / and after that Ioseph was sent vpon a message frome saynt Iohan the apostle & euangelyst from ephesye vnto the gloryous moder of Ihesu cryste oure lady and also after that was presente with saynt Phylyp and other dyscyples what tyme that / that gloryous vyrgyn was assumpte in to heuen. And as many thynges as euer he herde and sawe of oure lorde Ihesu cryste and of his blessyd moder oure lady saynt Mary / he shewed theym and

preched theym in dyuerse regyons and places and conuerted moche people vnto the crysten fayth and baptysed them. And at the last .xv. yere after the gloryous assumpcyon of our blesyd lady he toke his sone Iosephes with hym and wente to saynt Phylyp in to Fraunce and consequently as it is wryten in a boke called Graall Ioseph of Aramathia whiche buryed the body of oure lorde Ihesu cryste after y^t he was baptysed of the holy man saynt Phylyp the apostle came in to grete Brytayn whiche was promyssed to hym and hys yssue & he brought with hym his wyfe and his sone Iosephes whome our sauycouer before that tyme hadde made a bysshop and consecrate hym in a Cyte called Sara / & there came with hym syxe hundred persones of men and women and mo / & the men made a solempne vowe for to lyue chastely from theyr wyues vnto the tyme they hadde entered in to grete Brytayne and all the nombre brake this vowe except .xxxvii. whiche were commaunded by our sauycouer to passe ouer y^e se saylynge vpon the shyrte of Iosephes and soo [^{* Leaf 5.}] came to londe *vpon Ester even in the mornynge / y^e resydue of them for as moche as they were penytent and sory for the transgressyon of theyr vowe at thynstaunce & prayer also of Ioseph were brought ouer in a vessell whiche kynge Salomon craftefully had made to contynue and dure vnto crystes tyme / and y^e same daye that theyr compayne came vnto londe vpon Iosephes shyrte they applyed vnto londe in y^e same vessell whiche god had prouyded for theym whiche were gyded by a duke of Medor named Nataniis whome Ioseph baptysed before in the cyte of Sara / and with theym came also the kynge of the same cyte called Mordrams to whome almyghty god after that appered & shewed to hym his syde handes & feet perysshed with the spere and nayles / and whan the kynge Mordrams sawe that he was moued with compassyon and sayd. O my lorde god what man was so bolde and so presumptuous thus to dele with y^e / our sauycouer answered to hym agayne and sayd. The false kynge of Northwales hath this wyse done with me whiche hathe put my seruaunt Ioseph of Aramathya with his company in pryon and full vnykndly denyeth them theyr lyuyng for by cause they shewed & preached my name in his realme / therfore sayd almyghty god vnto mordrams / gyrded the with thy swerde aboute

thy myddell and goo with all hast possyble vnto that partyes
 and take vengeance vpon the tyraunt & delyuer my seruauntes
 oute of pryon & daunger / whan y^e kynge awoke of his slepe
 he was full glade of that vysyon shewed vnto hym and so set his
 realme & his housholde in good waye & toke a grete company with
 hym & toke his Iourney and as god was his guyde he came vnto the
 place where the kynge of Northwales the tyraunt was and com-
 maunded hym he sholde promytte and suffre the seruauntes of al-
 myghty god to passe out of pryon and to be at lyberte / the tyraunt
 wolde not in no wyse condescende vnto kynge Mordrams commaundement /
 but with grete indygnacon charged hym shortly without
 delaye to voyde out of his londe whan kynge Mordrams herde this
 langage he came fyersly vpon hym with his company and with¹ duke
 Naciamis aboue sayd & with condigne and Iuste vengeance slewe
 hym / thenne this done kynge Mordrams wente vnto the pryon
 where that vnhappye kynge hadde Ioseph and his company in holde /
 & with grete Ioye brought them forth and shewed vnto them the
 vysyon made vnto hym of god and theyr delyuerynge thenne all
 they in grete myrthe thanked god hertely. Thenne kynge Mordrams²
 gaue the realme & kyngedom of Northwales with the appertenence
 vnto one called Celydomus sone vnto duke Naeyanus and gaue hym
 also to be his wiffe Labell the kynges daughter of Persye whiche
 Labell the sayd Celydomus with helpe and socoure of his fader
 hadde before with grete dyffyeulte conuerted vnto Crystes fayth
 whose doubt[y]e and meruaylous actes be wryten in y^e bokes named
 Grall aboue reherced.

¶ Thus endeth the lyfe of Ioseph of Armathy Enpry[n]ted at
 London in Flete strete at the sygne of the sonne by me Wynkyn
 de Worde.³

¹ Printed and with and duke.

² Printed Mordradms.

³ On the sixth and last leaf is a cut of Jesse lying on the ground, from whom issues a genealogical tree, representing the kings of Judah, and in the midst of them the Virgin Mary, holding the infant Jesus in her arms, as deriving her descent from Jesse. On the back of the leaf is Wynkyn de Worde's common tripartite device. See Herbert's Ames; vol. i., p. 232. On p. 233 is the remark—"This and the eleven preceding articles are among Bp. More's books in the Public Library, Cambridge"—a remark which has reference to the very copy used for producing this reprint.

[Fol. Iviii.]

T De Sancto Ioseph Ab arimathia.

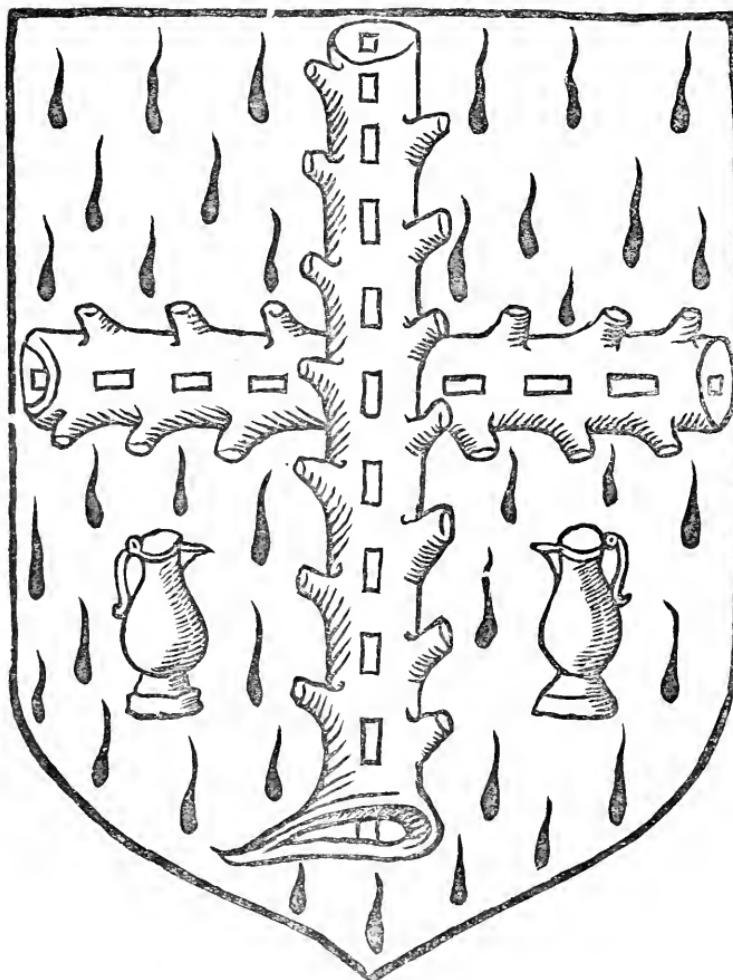
[Reprinted from “*The Kalendre of the New Legende of Englynde*,”
printed by Richard Pynson, A.D. 1516.]

When our lorde Ihesu Criste was crucefyed, Ioseph Ab Arimathia asked of Pylate the bodye of our Lorde / and leyde it in a clene Sendell / and put it in a Sepulere that no man had ben buryed in, as the Euangelyst[es] testifie, & the Iues heryng therof put hym in a derke Pryson that had no wyndowe, and Annas and Cayphas locked the dores, and after, when they had thought to haue put hym to deth, they sent *for hym to the pryon ; [* Fol. Iviii b] and before theyr commynge on the saterday at nyght, our lord apperyd to hym with a great bryghtnes as he was in prayer, & foure aungellys lyfted vp þe house that he was in, and our Lorde sayd to hym, “I am Ihesus whom thou hast buryed” / and then Ioseph sayd, “ lord, if thou be he, shewe me the monument that I put the in ;” and our lord toke hym by the hande and ledde hym to the sepulcre, & fro thens he brought hym into his house at Arimathe ; after, the Iues sent for hym, & asked of hym howe he came out of pryon ; and he tolde them as byfore apperyth / and then they let hym goo / & he became disciple to seynt Phylyp, & of hym he and his sone Iosefes were baptised ; and he was a messenger fro Ephese bytwyxt seynt Iohñ Euangelyst and our Ladye, and was at her departynge with other disciples ; he was a Constaunte precher of the worde of god as he had herde of our lorde and of our Lady, and conuertyd moche people ; after, he, with his sone Iosefes, went into Fraunce to seynt Phylyp / and he sent Ioseph and his sone with .x.

other into Brytayne / & at last they came to a place then called Inswytryñ, nowe called glastonburye / and thyse verses be made at Glastonburye of theyr commynge. Intrat Auallonianam duodena ceterua virorum / flos Arimathie Ioseph est primus eorum / Iosefes ex Ioseph genitus patrem cōmitatur / hiis aliisque decem ius glastonie propriatur. And after, by monycion of the Archaungell gabryell, they made a Churche or oratory of our Lady / & there they lyued a blessed lyf in vigylles, fastingz, & prayers. And two kynges, seynge theyr blesid lyfe, though th[e]y were paynymes, gauē to eueryche of them a hyde of lande, whiche to this day be called the .xii. hydes / and there they dyed ; and Ioseph was buryed nygh to the sayd oratory.¹

¹ The title of the first part of the book from which this extract is made runs thus—"Here begynneth the Kalandre of the newe legende of Englande"—beneath which is a cut representing the Crucifixion. The book contains three different treatises, the second being "The lyfe of seyt Birgette," and the third "A deuote Boke complyd by mayster Walter Hylton to a deuoute man in temperall estate," &c. The colophon to the first part is—"¶ Thus endyth the Kalendre of the new Legende of Englande / Emprynted to the honour of the gloriouse Seynt therin conteyned by Richarde Pynson / prynter to our Souerayne lorde Kynge Henry the .viii." Beneath this is the printer's device No. 4. The colophon to the second part gives us the date 1516. See the description in Herbert's Ames, vol. i. p. 261.

¶ Here begynneth the lyfe of Ioseph of Armathia.



[Reprinted from the black-letter copy printed
by Richard Pynson, A.D. 1520.]

[¶ Here begynneth the lyfe of
Joseph of Armathia.]

[See title on p.
35.]

- I**Hesu, the royall ruby, moost hye of renowne,
Rested in Mary *the mayde* / for her humlylyte ;
And fro *the realme* of righwysnes / descended down
To take the meke clothynge / of our humanyte. 4
- Jesus became
incarnate,
- The .v. welles of pyte to open, Adam restored he
On the crosse, & for vs shedde / his precyous blode ;
There was the boke vnclosed / of perfyte charyte,
With Longis spere smyten / hangyng on the rode. 8
- and shed His
blood, being
smitten by
Longinus' spear.
- His precyous body / on the crosse beyng deed,
Sore it greued his dyscyples / euery-chone ;
And in the olde bokes, as we rede,
That amonge all other there was one, 12
- His discipiles were
grieved.
- His hert was perysshed with very compassyon.
His name called Ioseph / the lorde of Aromathy,
He went to pylate & full humbly desyred hym
To haue the body of Ihesu / hym for to bury. 16
- Joseph of
Arimathaea asks
for His body.
- And pylate graunted hym all his askyng,
Than ioseph retourned / with countenaunce demure,
And prayed Nycodymus / to go with hym
For to take downe / our lordes precyous body. 20
- Nicodemus and
Joseph take
Jesus down.
- So Ioseph layde Ihesu / to rest in his sepulture,
And wrapped his body / in a clothe called sendony ;
Ryche was it wrought, with golde & sylke full pure,
Ioseph of a mayd it bought / in Aromathy cyte. 24
- Joseph wraps
Christ's body in
"sendony."

The blood of
Christ falls upon
Joseph's shirt.

But yet whan Ioseph Ihesu downe toke,
The syde *that* the wound was on / lay to his brest ;
The colde blode / that was at our lordes herte rote
Fell within Iosephes sherte / & lay on his chest. 28
 Truly as holy scripture sayth / there dyde it rest
At the holy place / aboue his stomake,
And whan our lorde / in the sendony was drest,
Thys blode in two cruettes / Ioseph dyd take. 32

[leaf 2]
Joseph collects
the blood in two
cruets.

The Jews send for
Joseph and
Nycodemus,

and accuse them.

The Iewes herd say / *that* Ioseph Ihesu had buryed,
They thought *that* Nycodemus & he shulde repent ;
The[y] went to pylat / & sayd they were greued,
Ioseph & Nycodemus for them both they sent. 36
Than came they to pylat, to knowe all his entente,
& sayd they had buryed ihesu / as he gaue them leue ;
“ I-wys,” sayd all the iewes / that there were present,
“ He shall curse *the* tyme / that his body dyd remeue.”

“ Ye have slain
Jesus,” said
Joseph,

“ who healed
men, and raised
Lazarus.”

“ Why,” sayd Ioseph, “ iesu was goddes owne sonne,
That ye bounde lyke a thefe / & hyng on the rode ;
Also to *the* hert with a sharpe spere / ye hym stonge,
& *with* .iii. nayles made hym shede his giltles blode.
I wote well, he neuer dyd yll / but euermore gode ; 45
He made *the* blynde to se / & heled some of lepry ;
He resed Lazarus / also / by his worde,
This is true,” sayd Ioseph / “ ye knowe as well as I.”

The Jews put
Joseph in a dark
prison.

Caiaphas and
Annas keep the
key of it.

The Iues put Ioseph / in a stronge prison of stone, 49
In that darke house / by hym-selfe he lay.
Lyght he coude not se / for wyndowe had it none,
The[y] locked the dore / and than went theyr way. 52
Cayphas and Anna / of that kept the kay,
And sealed the dore / also / they thought to be sure ;
For “ Ioseph shulde dye” / playnly dyd they say,
But paciently all theyr truble / dyd he endure. 56

- Than Ihesu Christ / at his resurrection [leaf 2, back]
 To Ioseph apered / about hye mydnyght,
 And rered all the foure corners / of that pryson,
 The walles he susteyned / by his great myght. 60
 Christ appears to
 Ioseph, and
 raises his prison.
- Ioseph, that / meruayled / seyng so great a lyght,
 A full precious water / our lorde threwe in his face,
 Before that hour / he sawe never so swete a syght.
 "Who is there?" sayd Ioseph / "art thou Elyas?" 64 Joseph sees a
 great light.
 He asks if it is
 Elias.
- Our lorde spake to Ioseph / & bad hym nat fere,
 He sayd, "aryse" / & toke hym vp by the hande ; Christ reveals
 "I am Ihesu / whom thou buryed in the sepulture." Himself to
 Ioseph,
 "If thou be" / sayd Ioseph / "that here doth stande,
 Gyue me the rychest / treasour / of this lande, 69
 The clothe / that is called the Sendony."
 Ihesu led hym to the sepulture / & there it fonde ;
 "Holde, ioseph," sayd ihesu / "that couerture of my
 body." 72 and gives him the
 cloth in which He
 was buried.
- There ihesu bad ioseph to his owne place wende, Christ tells
 And sayd, "kepe thou thy house / dayes fully forty ;
 Farwell," sayd our lorde, "Ioseph, my frende,
 Where euer thou becom / peace be with the ; 76
 I go to my disciples / that longe after me."
 Ioseph wept for ioy / that was of yeres olde,
 Saynge / "o Ihesu, worshypped may thou be ; Joseph weeps for
 joy.
 For thy grace, I haue spyed / is better than golde." 80
- Ioseph kept his house, as our lorde bad, Caiaphas cannot
 And on the morowe cayphaee went to the pryson ; find Joseph.
 No body he there founde ; than was he full sad. 83
 "Where is Ioseph?" sayd anne, "I trowe he be gon ! Anna says he is
 I marueyle," he sayd ; "the seales were hole eche one, gone.
 And yet he out of the house is gone !" [leaf 3]
 For wo they all wylt nat what to done, 87
 Sayeng, "he that conuayed hym was a false felon."

They hear that
Joseph is in
Arimathaea,

and pray him to
come to
Jerusalem.

Joseph tells them
how he was
released,

and how Christ
lifted the prison
off the ground.

Joseph reminds
them of the
wonders at the
Crucifixion,

when the dead
bodies rose.

[leaf 3, back]

Joseph was 15
years with Mary,

but after her
Assumption went
to France with st
Philip.

So worde they had that in Armathyia cyte
Ioseph was / than sent they to hym gretynge
By theyr letters made full craftely,
Him lowly prayeng that theyr writing 92
He wolde¹ ouer-se, and as [touchyng] any thyng
That was done to hym, they were wo therfore ;
And prayed to Ioseph, his louers he wolde bryng,
For they wolde be frendes with hym for euermore. 96

This mater to shorten, Ioseph thyder Went,
And shewed them how theyr lorde delyuerner hym
Out of the pryson ; “suche grace god me sent.”
“Well,” sayd the Iewes, “we meruayle of one thyng,
How he gate [thee] out with all his connyng.” 101
Ioseph sayd, “he lyfted the house fro the grounde.”
They sayd, “by what crafte was it hanging,
That it fell nat in sonder, but stode styl sounde ?”

“Well,” sayd Ioseph, “this was a great wonder, 105
Whan the sharpe spere to his hart was pyght,
To se great rockes and stones breke a-sonder,
The sonne darked & withdrew his lyght. 108
The erthe trymbled by his great myght ;
All these were maruaylous,” sayd Ioseph than ;
“Deed bodyes in theyr graues were sene with sight ;²
Wherfore I dare say, he is very god and man.” 112

Now here how Ioseph came into englande ;
But at that tyme it was called brytayne.
Than .xv. yere with our lady, as I vnderstande,
Ioseph wayted stylly / to serue hyr he was fayne ; 116
So after hyr assumpcyon, the boke telleth playne,
With saynt Philyp he went into fraunce,
His sonne and his wyfe to serue god with Payne,
Fayne for to folowe vertuous gouernaunee. 120

¹ Printed holde.

² Printed sihgt.

- Ioseph had a sonne whose name was Iosephas,
That our lorde a bysshop dyd consecrate,
A vertuous lyuer the boke sayth that he was,
Phylipe bad them go to great brytayn fortunate. 124
 His son,
Iosephas, was
made bishop by
Christ.
- So to the see they went, of ioye seperate,
For of them there were .v. C. & mo
In that company, bothe erly and late,
Taryeng for passage / togyder forto go. 128
 500 of his
company set out
to go to Britain.
- A shyp they toke, as I vnderstande,
And passed without peryll ouer the salt streme ;
Into the hauen they all aruyed to lande,
But yet of brytayne they fayled theyr course clene. 132
 They take ship,
- They fortuned to a countre of a tyraunt kene,
Called wales, there was a kyng that tyme ;
They landed all, as *the* boke telleth, on an ester euyne,
xxxi. yere after the passyon, about the houre of nyne.
 but land in
Wales on Easter
eve, 31 years after
the Passion.
- Whan the kyng knewe that they dyd lande, 137
 He toke Ioseph and all his felowes truly,
And put them in prysone great and strong ;
 The king puts
Joseph and his
fellows in prison.
- Than they all prayed to god almyghty, 140
 And he herde theyr prayers lyghtly,
That they were delyuerned in short space ;
 [leaf 4]
- He thought his seruauntes sholde nat in peryl lye,
Than he sent them confort by his great grace. 144
 God condescends
to deliver them.
- Our lorde apered to a kyng in the west,
That named was Mordrayous in dede,
Bydding hym for to make hym prest,
With all his myght in to wales to sped ; 148
 Christ appears
to king
Mordrayous,
- Sayng, “there be my seruauntes, that of helpe nede,
Go thou theder and bere thy¹ swerde in thy hande ;
That poure kyng that me doth nat drede,
Thou shalt hym ouercome and all his lande.” 152
 and tells him to
go to Wales.

¹ Printed they.

- King Mordrayous
obeys,
and prepares to
go to Wales.
- Than the kyng, after his vysion sene,
Thought in hast his deuer to do ;
So vp he rose in the mornyng,
All his lordes he called hym to. 156
He sayd, “in to wales in dede must I go ;
Now thyder wyll I hye me with all my myght ;
God to me appered, and bad me do so,
Agayne the prince of that countre for to fight.” 160

- He makes over
his own kingdom
to a lord.
- In all hast he dysposed his householde,
And to a lorde he toke the realme to gonerne,
To delyner goddes seruauntes he sayd he wolde ;
“ I knowe no maner man that shall me werne.” 164
In his iourney he hyed, he thought not to turne,
Tyll he came to the place there Ioseph was.
Many a towne in wales dyd he burne,
The prynce of that countre herd therof in space ; 168

- The king of
Wales submits,
and offers him his
daughter, named
Labell.
- [leaf 4, back] And to Mordrayous he sent a messangere,
Prayng hym to come in with peace..
He sayd, “this lande is poore, therfore I hym fere,
Besechyg his goodnesse this stryfe to sease ; 172
And I wyll hym gyue a lady perelesse,
Myn owne daughter, by name called Labell,
Preeuously arayed in cloth of rychesse :”—
He bad the messangere all this vnto hym tell. 176

- A messenger
comes to
Mordrayous,
saying that
Joseph shall be
released.
- Than went the messangere vnto Mordrayous,
And sayd all, as is before tolde :—
“ Syr kyng, my lorde the prayeth to be gracious
Vnto him, and not so fyvere and holde ; 180
And ye shall haue his daughter with plentie of golde,
With all the pryoners that in his pryon be,
Ioseph & his felowes, both yong and olde.”
Than sayd Mordrayous, “ he shall haue peace with me.”

- On a day these kynges togeder both dyd mete,
 Mordrayous toke Labell to his wyfe ;
 Eche saluted other with wordes swete,
 And loued togyder the terme of theyr lyfe. 188
 For Mordrayous was doughty with swerd & knyfe,
 That all landes nere hym dyd dowt.
 Ioseph was delyuered from daunger blyfe,
 With his felawes, all the hole rowt. 192
- Than hyther into brytayne Ioseph dyd come,
 And this was by kyng Aueragas dayes ;
 So dyd Ioseph and also Iosephas his sonne,
 With many one mo, as the olde boke says. 196
 This kynge was hethen & lyued on fals layes,
 And yet he gaue to Ioseph au[i]lonye,
 Nowe called Glastenbury, & there he lyes ;
 Somtyme it was a towne of famous antyquyte.¹ 200
- There Ioseph lyued with other hermyttes twelfe,
 That were the chyfe of all the company,
 But Ioseph was the chefe hym-selfe ;
 There led they an holy lyfe and gostely. 204
 Tyll, at the last, Ihesu the mighty,
 He sent to Ioseph thaungell gabryell,
 Which bad hym, as the writyng doth specify,
 Of our ladyes assumpcyon to bylde a chapell. 208
- So Ioseph dyd as the aungell hym bad,
 And Wrought there an ymage of our lady ;
 For to serue hyr great denucion he had,
 And that same ymage is yet at Glastenbury, 212
 In the same churche ; there ye may it se.
 For it was the fyrst, as I vnderstande,
 That euer was sene in this countre ;
 For Ioseph it made wyth his owne hande. 216

Mordrayous
marries Labell.

Joseph is
released.

Joseph comes to
Britain in the
days of Arviragus,

[leaf 5]

who gives to
Joseph Avilion,
now called
Glastonbury.

Here Joseph and
12 hermits lived.

Gabriel tells
Joseph to build a
chapel to Our
Lady.

Our Lady's image
is still at
Glastonbury.

¹ Printed autyquyte.

He also made a
crucifix,

The rode of northdore of london also dyd he make,
Moche lyke as our lorde was on the rode done ;
For this Ioseph fro the crosse hym dyd take.

now the "Rood
of Northdoor."

And loke howe a man may make by proporcion 220
A deed ymage lyke a quycke, by cunnyngne ;
So lyke the rode of northdore Iesu henge deed,
For Ioseph made it nere semyng
Vnto our lorde enclynyng his heed. 224

[leaf 5, back]
Joseph dies.

He is buried at
Glastonbury,

where he is
souzht by many a
thousand.

Than Ioseph there abode, prechynge the fayth,
Tyll by the course of nature he dyed ;
Thus the olde boke recordeth and sayth,
But in dede his body at Glastenbury doth abyde. 228
Our lorde for hym well doth prouyde,
Likely there to be sought with many a .M. ;
The name of Glastenbury wyll sprede full wyde
To men & women of many a straunge lande. 232

In the 18th year
o' our king
Henry,

two women of
Dolting parish
were healed of the
pestilence,

and offered at
Glastonbury on
St Simon's day.

By whose prayer god sheweth many myrakyll,
Proued the .xviii. yere of henry our kyng ;
In doltyng parysse, there was sickle longe whyle
Two yonge women of the pestelence, lamentyng, 236
Which passed the cure of men in eche thynge.
Theyr prayer makynge to ioseph of Aramathyte,
So began to recouer, & brought theyr offryng
On Symone day & Iude vnto Glastonbury. 240

Many miracles
have happened
there.

His body has
lain there 400
[? 1100] years.

And syth god there hath shewed many a myrakyl,
I lacke tyme & season all to expresse ;
But yet all that do vysyte that holy habytakyll,
It is euer lyke newe to them that call in distresse. 244
Four C. yere ago / the boke bereth wytnes,
So longe there hath rested that holy body ;
And nowe pleaseth it god, of his goodnesse,
Great myracles for hym to worke, as ye may se. 248

- Many be there holpen through our lordes myght ;
 A chylde of welles raysed fro deth without dout.
 Lame ar there heled, the blynde restored to sight ;
 One that had the fransy to his wytte was brought. 252
 The vykary of welles, that thyder had sought,
 On the tenth day, that many men dyd se,
 Where .iiii. yere afore he stande nor go mought,
 Released he was of part of his infyrmyte. 256
- A child, of Wells,
 was raised to life
 there.
- There is continuance of grace, as it is shewed
 On a woman of banwell, *the wyfe of Thomas Roke*,
 whyche was tempted by the fende & greatly styred ;
 With hyr husbandes knyues she cut hyr throte, 260
 And doutlesse, as true men do report,
 She slewe hyr selfe, so greuous was the wounde.
 For wo hyr husband wyst not whether to resort, 263
 Whan he sawe hyr all blody & his own knife found.
- The wife of
 Thomas Roke, of
 Banwell,
 cut her throat
 with a knife.
- This wofull man, seynge his wyfe thus lye,
 Whiche with his knyfe had done that wofull dede,
 Vnto his neyghbours he cryed full pyteously,
 Hym for to helpe in that tyme of nede. 268
 The wounde to sewe fast he began to spedē,
 Besechynge our lorde and holy Ioseph,
 This woman to saue, and so hertely prayed,
 That anone after she began to drawe brethe. 272
- Her husband
 cried out for
 help.
- And they yet say, that the stytches brake,
 That the fleshe / closed, and that was wonder ;
 She was confessed / hosceled / eneled, and spake,
 Therfore, good men, this in your myndes ponder ; 276
 yet lyueth, & in the .ix. day of apryl came she thyder,
 And went before the honourable procession.
 The same knyfe she offred vp all blody there ; 279
 Now thanked be god & Ioseph, she is hole & sounde.
- The stitches
 broke, but the
 flesh closed.
- She came to
 Glastonbury on
 the 9th of April.

- [leaf 6, back] The .ix. day of Aprill, Ioh̄n Lyght, gentylman,
 John Light, of Dwellynge besyde Ilchester at lyghtes care,
 Ilchester, had a His wyfe had vpon her a feuer quartayn,
 wife who had a By the space of two yere vexed gretly ; 284
 quartan fever. No medycyne nor phisyke *that conde do her remedy* ;
 [She prayed to Ioseph to hele her of her Payne],¹
 And promysed thyder her offryng deuoutly,
 Than was she delyuered of her dysease certayne. 288
 She recovered.
- The 10th of The tenth daye of Apryll, that was than sonday,
 April, a Sunday, A chylde was smyten with a plague all deed,
 a child died of And to euyer mannes syght an houre so he lay.
 the plague. His moder hertely to sent Ioseph prayed, 292
 And bowed² her offryng, in her hert sore afrayed.
 The child The chylde recouered and had his hele,
 recovered, and And on saynt marke daye there they offred,
 made an offering Hole and sounde ; no herme dyde he fele. 296
 on St Mark's day.
- On the 15th of The .xv. day of Apryll one Robert Browne,
 April, Robert Of yeuell, that at ylchester was prysoner,
 Browne, of He was delyuered by proclamatyon,
 Yeovil, And went to gader his fees for the kepar. 300
 The prysoner about his legge had a fetter ;
 He prayed ioseph to helpe him, as he was not gilty,
 And sodenly the fettters sprange fro hym there,
 In myddles of the market-place of Glastenbury. 304
 had a fetter on
 his leg, which
 fell off.
- John Gyldon, of Ioh̄n Gyldon, gentylman, of port melborne,
 Milborne Port, The syde of his mouth was drawen to his eare ;
 was paralysed. His lyft syde and his arme was benome,
 That he of his lyfe stode in great fere ; 308
 Speke conde he nat nor hymselfe stere.
 He prayed to Ioseph, promysyng his offryng,
 [leaf 7] So of his sykenes he was delyuered clere,
 Sane onely of an hurte in his lefte arme. 312
 He was healed by
 Joseph.

¹ A line omitted. Supplied from conjecture. ² For vowed ?

- The .xx. day of apryll, Ioh̄n popes wyfe of comtone,
Had a yong chylde, that was taken sodenly,
And so contynued and coude not be holpen ;
His moder prayed to god and Ioseph deuoutly, 316
Her offrynge promysed, than founde she remedy.
The chylde recouered, & had his lymmes at wyll. He recovered.
Lo ! ye well dysposed people, here may ye se,
That there is nothyng to god impossyble. 320
- yonge walter sergaunt, dwellynge in Pylton,
His chylde in the pestylence was in Leopardy,
And sore panged that he myght not mene hym,
So that to theyr syght he appered deed veryly. 324
This wofull moder, as the neyghbours testefy,
Prayed to Ioseph and of the chylde the mesure,
And promysed to do her offrynge truly ;
Than shortly after the chylde dyde recure. 328 He recovered.
- Also Aly, wyfe to Walter benet, dwellyng in welles,
Infect with the frenche pockes a yere and more,
And doutlesse, as her owne neyghbours telles,
Her fete were so paynfull and sore, 332
That go coude she not but as she was bore.
Thyder was she brought in-to the chapell,
Verely she was heled, and lefte her styltes thore,
And on her fete wente home resonably well. 336
- Iohn Abyngdons wyfe, of welles, had a sykenesse,
Moost paynfull with a sore called a fistula ;
So long it¹ contynued that she laye spechelesse,
And her lymbes dyde rotte, truly they do say, 340
So that with a knyfe the peces were cut away.
At last she thought she had sene Ioseph in pyture,
How he toke god fro the crosse, & to hym dyde pray,
Her for to hele, and than began she to recure. 344 She was healed.

The 20th of April, the wife of John Pope, of Comton, had a sick child.

The child of Walter Sergeant, of Pilton, was nearly dead.

Alice, wife of Walter Bennett of Wells, was quite lame.

She left her stilts in the chapel.

[leaf 7, back]

The wife of John Abingdon, of Wells, had a fistula.

¹ Printed is.

Many more
miracles
happened there.

.

I intend to cut
this short.

All the myracles to shewe it were to longe,
There is many mo full great *that* I do not reherse.
As pestylence, purpuls, and agonys strong, 347
With megrymes also, & men *that* haue lyen specheles.
And this I knowe well, both in prose, ryme, & verse,
Men loue nat to rede an over longe thyng ;
Therfore I entende this mater to short & sease,
I pray you all to marke well the endyng. 352

All ye pilgrims,
serve St Joseph
at Glastonbury.

ye pylgrymes all, gyue your attendaunce
Saynt ioseph there to serue with humble affectyon,
At Glastenbury for to do hym renerence ;
Lyft vp your hertes with goostly deuoeyon, 356
Therwith conceyuyng this brefe compylacyon ;
Though it halte in meter of eloquence,
All thyng is sayd vnder correctyon,
And wryten to do holy Ioseph reuerence. 360

This treatise is in
Joseph's honour.

Learned men may
consult the books
at Glastonbury.

[leaf 8]

Ye need not have
any doubts.

ye lettered, that wyll haue more intellygence
Of the fyrist foundaeyon of Ioseph there,
The olde bokes of Glastenbury shall you ensence,
More plainly to vnderstande this forsayd matere. 364
To you shall declare the hole cronycle clere,
Wryten full truly with a notable processe.
Make ye no doute, nor be not in fere,
As olde clerkes therof bereth wytnesse. 368

Read St David's
life,

and you will find
a miraculous
story about
Glastonbury.

Sothely Glastenbury is *the* holiest erth of england,
Rede saynt Dauydes lyfe, and there may ye se,
That our lorde it halowed with his owne hande ;
For Dauyd by myracle proued it, parde. 372
Chryst made through his handes two holes truely,
Than went Dauyd, and his masse began ;
And, after sakeryng, the holes dyd shyt ; “a!” sayd he,
“This church was halowed by a better than I am !”

- Great meruaylles men may se at Glastenbury,
One of a walnot tree that there dooth stande,
In the holy grounde called the semetory, 379
There is at
Glastonbury a
walnut-tree near
Arthur's tomb,
- Harde by the place where kynge Arthur was founde.
South fro Iosephs chapell it is walled in rounde,
It bereth no leaues tyll the day of saynt Barnabe ;
And than that tree, that standeth in the grounde,
Spredeþ his leaues as fayre as any other tree. 384
which bears no
leaves till St
Barnabas day.
- Thre hawthornes also, that groweth in werall,
Do burge and bere grene leaues at Christmas
As fresshe as other in May, whan the nightyngale
Wrestes out her notes musycall as pure as glas ; 388
Three hawthorns
at Werrall bear
green leaves at
Christmas.
- Of all wodes and foreastes she is the chefe chauntres.
In wynter to syng yf it were her nature,
In werall she myght haue a playne place,
On those hawthornes to shewe her notes clere. 392
The nightingale
myght sing there
at Christmas.
- Lo, lordes, what Ihesu dooth in Januari,
Whan the great colde cometh to grounde ;
He maketh the hauthrone to spryne full fresshly.
Where as it pleaseth hym, his grace is founde ; 396
[leaf 8, back]
Jesus makes the
hawthorn bud in
January.
- He may loose all thing that is bounde.
Thankes be gynen to hym that in heuen sytteth,
That floryssheth his werkes so on the grounde,
And in Glastenbury, *Quia mirabilia fecit.* 400
Thanks be to Him
who works
miracles at
Glastonbury.

¶ A prayng to Ioseph.

Praise to thee, O
Joseph.

O Ioseph, sanctificate is thy fyrd foundation,
Thy parentycle may be praysed of vs all.
Armony syng with hertely Iubylacyon,
That causeth many sorowes fro theyr hertes fall, 404
Of creatures dysconsolate that there for grace call,
Lawdyng Ioseph with deuoute reuerence,
As a principall place chosen of Christ moost speciall ;
There shal thei fynde confort of Christes magnificeunce.

Here shall many
find comfort.

Hail, mighty
giant !

Hayle, mighty gyaunt, heuen & erth thou dyde bere,
As bright as the mone that¹ Illumyneth *the* nyght ;
Moche stronger than Sampson that had no pere ;

Hail, fragrant
flower !

Hayle, floure fragrant ; it with thy great myght 412
Putteth fenes vnto flyght, and euery yll ayre,
From men that deuoutly do theyr dylygence
Here Ioseph to serue with offryng or prayer,
Shall fynde confort of our lordes magnysficeunce. 416

Hail, Joseph,
who didst bear
the honey-comb
on Good Friday.

[leaf 9]

Thou didst bury
the mirror of
humility.

Hayle, Ioseph, that bere the swete hony combe
On good friday, as holy scripture doth speyfie,
In thyne earme *thou* bere both the lyon & the lambe,
God and man in one humanyte. 420

In sepulture thou layd the myrrour of humlyte,
Bryghter than lucyfer in his resplendence,
After he had payed our raunsom and made vs fre
Of his great fauour, grace, and magnyficeunce. 424

¹ Printed than.

- Hayle, myghty balynger, charged with plenty,
Thou hast cast anker in the hauen of aduentere ;
O dentyon dyamonde, *the destroyer of yll desteny,*
As gay as euer was phebus in his golde spere ; 428
O noble Ioseph, the tyme of grace draweth nere.
Hayle, myrre so precyous, dystroyng al pestelence ;
O royll gem, whome men shall seke full ferre,
Here to hane confort of our lordes magnyfycence. 432
- Heyle, tresour of Glastenbury moost imperyall,
In sauour smellynge swete as eglantyne ;
Now shall thy name flourysshe ouerall,
Ihesu for thy sake the bell of mercy doth ryng. 436
Great cause hath Englande *Laus deo* to syng,
God and Ioseph to prayse with all our dylygence,
That many men delyuereth out of mourmyng,
By our lordes fauour, grace, & magnyfycence. 440
- O noble Ioseph, O ghostly phesycyon,¹
By the is cured many a malady ;
Nat vsynge pylles / dregges / ne poycon,
Ne other medecyne, yet doost thou remedy
To pockes / pestylene / and also freney,
And all maner of feuer, we se experyence ;
Thou helest Iaundes / goutes, and dropsyes
By our lordes fauour, grace, and magnyfycence.
- Now, holy Ioseph, pray for vs to our lorde
To sende vs peas and perfyte charite,
And amonge the comyns welth and concorde,
And that our ryche men may vse lyberalyte,
Whiche than shall [wende] towarde the deytle,
Where aungelles to Ihesu do great reuerence ;
Vnto the whiche god bryng bothe you & me
Of his fauour, grace, and magnyfycence.
- Hail, mighty well-laden ship !
Hail, precious myrrh, royal gem !
Hail, treasure of Glastonbury !
Great cause hath England to praise God.
Oh ghostly physician,
who dost use no pills ;
thou healest jaundice and gout.
Joseph, pray for us !
May our rich men be liberal !
God bring us to heaven !

¹ Printed pheeyson.

¶ Ioseph, serue dei omnipotentis, miserere mei malefactoris. Esto michi solamen in suspiriis,¹ continuum iuuamen in molestiis. Super id quod opto da remedium, & tollator eo quicquid dessonum (*sic*). Ioseph, discipule, da in futuris agenda facere, in non agendis vim hec resistere, in virtuosis vitam terminare, demum in celis tecum habitare.

versus. Sanete ioseph, *christi* discipule. *Responsorium.* Intercede pro nobis ad Iesum qui elegit te. Oremus.

Domine iesu *christe*, cui *omnis* lingua confitetur, respice in nos seruos tuos & placare precibus tui dilecti discipuli ioseph: vt ipso intercedente mereamur in presentia habere peccati² remedium, & in futuro tue visionis dulcedinem. Qui viuis. &c.

¶ *Responsorium.* Serue dei, ioseph sanctissime, preces *nostras* clementer accipe, morbos cedes³ & pestes remoue. Et si meremur iam penas luere, *christum* regem superne glorie non iratum sed blandum effice. *versus.* Vt cum ceperit mundum discernere & in dextris⁴ oues reponere. Non ira. Oratio.

[leaf 10] **O**mnipotens, sempiterne deus, qui beatissimum ioseph famulum tuum tribuisti vnigeniti filii tui corpus exanime de cruce deponere: eique iusta humanitatis officia persoluere,⁵ presta quesumus, vt qui eius memoriam denote recolimus consuete misericordie tue senciamus auxilium. Per eundem dominum nostrum.

A M E N.

¶ Imprinted at London in Fletestrete at the
sygne of the George / by Richard Pyn-
son printer vnto the kinges noble
grace Anno. domini.

M. CCCCC.

.xx.

[On the back of the leaf is the printer's device.]

¹ Printed suspiriis,

² Printed petisti.

³ Printed cades.

⁴ Printed dextriri.

⁵ The contraction for "pro," not "per," is here used.

NOTES TO “JOSEPH OF ARAMATHIE.”

1. JOSEPH of Arimathea, having been imprisoned by his countrymen for 42 years, is released by Vespasian. On his release, Vespasian asks him how long he thinks he has been in prison. He says he thinks it must be scarcely three days, for he was imprisoned on Friday, and *now it is Sunday*. Thus we may imagine the first extant line to form a part of some such sentence as this—

“I passed to þis þot ‘and to prisoun eode
On Frydaye, sire,’ he seis ‘and sonenday is noure.’”

The corresponding passage of the French romance may be found at p. 32, vol. i. of the *Seynt Graal*, ed. Furnivall. “Et vaspasiens li dist : ‘ioseph combien quidies vous auoir este en cheste prison.’ Et ioseph li dist, ‘Sire, ie i quit auoir demoure des uenredi iusch'a hui, et ie quit qu'il soit hui diemanches. Et uenredi despendi ion le urai prophete de la crois pour qui ie fui en prison mis.’ Et quant il ent che dit, *si commenchie-rent a rire tout chil qui estoient entour lui.*” The last sentence corresponds to our l. 2. The French prose romance is fuller than the present poem, and contains more details. The English poet has evidently aimed at compression, but does not always escape being obscure. The object of these notes is to explain some of these obscurities, and at the same time to point out the signification of some of the *phrases* used. For difficult words, recourse should be had to the Glossary. I quote Mr Furnivall's book frequently, referring to it merely by the letters *S. G.*; and I refer to the pages of the *first volume*, unless the second is expressly mentioned. This volume contains the romance in French prose, which, after l. 402 of our poem, is accompanied by the Old English translation made by Henry Lonelich in the time of Henry VI.

7. Joseph was baptized by S. Philip the apostle (*S. G.* 36), and Vespasian by Joseph.

12—20. This piece is not in the French; nor is it clear whence it is derived.

12. *His fader.* This means that Vespasian fetched his own father and a company of soldiers, and then returned to Jerusalem. History

makes Vespasian's father a man of mean condition, but not so the legend. Vespasian's father was the real emperor at this time, and Vespasian himself only a general. "Et quant vous fustes en prisonnes, tyberius cesar estoit empereur de rome, et puis en i a eu trois. Ore est mes peres li quars ;" S. G. 32. "When you were imprisoned," says Vespasian to Joseph, "Tiberius was emperor, and since him there have been three [Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, *six*] and my father is the fourth." Probably "Vespasian and his father" of the legend are, respectively, the Titus and Vespasian of history.

13. An obscure passage. I take *þer þei bosked hem out* to mean "where they came out," where *þei* refers to the Jews who had taken part in the crucifixion. That is, Vespasian and his father returned to Jerusalem, where the Jews who had hidden themselves came out of their hiding-places, and made them to leap down into the pit where they had formerly imprisoned Joseph. This downward leap was one of fifty feet, and the Jews were made to seek for the bottom of it, though they could not see it. Thus they led their life, and remained long there, so that his game (*leyk*) pleased them but little, as long as he remained there. Many other Jews fled for fear out of their own country into the land of Agrippa, Herod's heir, where many exiles were living, deprived of their own land (*or*, forsaken of their own people).

21. *A vois*, viz. the voice of Jesus Christ (see l. 38), who appeared to Joseph in a vision, and told him to leave Jerusalem for ever, and preach the Gospel in other lands, taking with him no provision for the journey except only the Holy Grayl. This accounts for the complaints of Joseph's company; l. 30.

36. *Argos*. "A tant laissa ioseph a parler, si alerent tant ke il vinrent a j. petit bos, qui estoit a demi lieue de bethanie [l. 29], si anoit nom li bos des *agais*. Et si estoit apeles par chel non, pour chou que en che bos fu agaities herodes thetrarches quant li inis le liurerent a rethe le roi de damas pour sa fille ke il anoit laissie, quant il prist la femme philippe son frere ;" S. G. p. 38. Thus it appears that the wood was called *Agais* (not *Argos*), because Herod the tetrarch was surprised there when the Jews delivered him up to Rethé, king of Damasens, whose daughter he had put away in order to take his brother Philip's wife. Mr Furnivall translates it "the wood of *ambush*," and so Roquefort explains the Old French *agait* by "subtilité, surprise, artifice, piége, embâche ;" but the verb *agaiter* is explained "examiner avec attention pour surprendre, tendre des pièges," &c.; from which I gather that, though Herod lay hid there, he was caught and taken away. In fact, the Old French verb *agaiter* is identical with the English *await* in form, and with *watch* in derivation and signification. The notion of a wood near Bethany bearing a name which can only be explained in French is precisely what one expects in an old romance. The English poet has even improved upon it; for, finding mention of the king of Damasens, he boldly transfers his *Argos* (though close to Bethany) to the country of Damascus at once.

39. "Et anchois que tu isses de cest bos, feras a m'escuile que tu as vne

petite arche de fust en quoi tu le porteras," &c., S. G. p. 38. I. e. "you are to make for the dish which you have with you a little wooden box to carry it about in." The English poet does not explain what "*þat ilke blod*" is. It means the blood which was preserved inside the Holy Grail. The French also tells us that Joseph was to say some prayers daily on his knees before the box or ark which held the Grail; also, that Joseph's company were miraculously fed in the wood, and arrived at Sarras in eleven days.

48. Evidently copied from Exod. iv. 10.

54. *faste bi-syde*, close beside; a common expression; cf. ll. 457, 522.

55. The French romance says the Saracens were named from Sarras, but *not* from Sarah, the wife of Abraham, as that would be an absurd supposition; S. G. p. 39. Mediaeval etymology (and a great deal too much modern etymology) is made to depend upon mere *sound*, without reference to *sense*. The following seems a rational account. "*Saracens*, a name improperly given by the Christian authors of the middle ages to the Mohammedans who invaded France and settled in Sicily. Concerning the etymology of this word there have been various opinions. Du Cange (*Glossarium, v. Saraceni*) derives it from 'Sarah,' the wife of Abraham; Hottinger (*Bib. Or.*) from the Arabic word *saraca*, which means 'to steal, to plunder.' Forster, in his 'Journey from Bengal to England,' derives it from *sahra*, 'a desert.' But the true derivation of the word is *sharkayn*, which means in Arabic 'the Eastern people'—first corrupted into Saraceni (*Σαρακηνοί*) by the Greek, and thence into *Saraceni* by the Latin writers. . . . The name Saraceni occurs in Pliny (vi. 28), and it seems that it began to be used about the first century of our era, and was applied to the Bedouin Arabs who inhabited the countries between the Euphrates and the Tigris, and separated the Roman possessions in Asia from the dominions of the Parthian kings, &c." *English Cyclopædia; Arts and Sciences*, vii. 282.

57. *þe temple*, viz. the temple of the Sun, in which was a seat called the Seat of Judgment; S. G. 41.

63. "He wished to have counsel from his people, and go to meet the enemy notwithstanding; and they (his barons) have refused to do it, so that he is sitting there in a very angry mood."

68. *mi foundeor*, my creator, or my patron; viz. Christ.

73. *& ȝe wol*, if ye wish to. The plural *ye* is used as a mark of deference.

82. *bi hoten*, be called. As the prep. *by* is spelt both *bi* and *be* in Early English, so here the scribe seems to have written *bi* for *be*.

83. *he*, she; the A.S. *heó*; spelt *hco* in l. 87.

85. *for him*, as regards him.

90. In Mr Cowper's Introduction to his "Apocryphal Gospels," p. xxxiii, he gives several curious stories about the miracles which happened at Christ's birth, from the "Sermones Dominicale" of Hugo de Prato, who died in 1322; the same stories are also found in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus a Voragine. They include the following. Three suns ap-

peared in the East, and immediately were formed into one ; a Sibyl at Rome told Augustus Cæsar that his greatness was surpassed by that of a child, who suddenly appeared in the lap of a maiden, within a golden circle which was formed round the sun ; the star in the East appeared to the Magi, and in this star appeared a child with a cross on his forehead : at Rome, a fountain of oil gushed out and flowed into the Tiber, and the Temple of Peace fell down ; at Bethlehem, the ox and the ass, standing near the manger, bowed down to Christ, as foretold in Isaiah i. 3, &c. Cf. Piers the Plowman, B. xviii. 230—239 ; also (for the visit of the three kings) B. xix. 71.

91. "And besyde that, is the place where the sterre felle, that ladde the 3 kynges, Jaspar, Melchior, and Balthazar ; but men of Greece clepen hem thus, Galgalathe, Malgalathe, and Saraphie ; and the Jewes clepen in this manere, in Ebrew, Appelius, Amerrius, and Damasus. Theise 3 kynges offreden to oure Lord, gold, encense, and myrre ; and thei metten to-gedre, thorghe myracle of God ; for thei metten to-gedre in a cytee in Ynde, that men clepen Cassak, that is 53 journeyes fro Bethleem, and thei weren at Bethleem the 13 day. And that was the 4 day aftre that thei hadden seyn the sterre, whan thei metten in that cytee, and thus thei weren in 9 dayes fro that cytee at Bethleem, and that was gret myracle." Maundevile's Voiage, ed. Halliwell, 1866, p. 70.

95. The French says Herod killed 140,000 children ; S. G. p. 46. Our poet says 4140.

99. The story of the idols in the Egyptian temples falling down at the presence of Christ is from the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew ; see Apocr. Gosp. ed. Cowper, p. 63 ; it occurs also in the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy ; p. 179. See also the "Cursor Mundi," quoted in Morris's Specimens of Early English, p. 138.

"Quen seo [she, i. e. Mary] was cummen þat kirk witin,
Man moght a selenth se to min,
þat al þair idels, in a stund,
Grovelings fel unto þe grund," &c.

111. This speech is given at great length in the French romance ; S. G. pp. 48—54.

117. *castest, contradictest, confutest* ; lit. throwest over ; cf. l. 703.

120. *hou may þis sitte same*, how may this agree together ?

121. "He was (Christ's) Father, and for his Son's sake was so called, who was considered to be His Father spiritually, before he was formed as a man."

127. With this explanation of the Trinity compare the one in P. Plowman, B. xvi. 181—227 ; xvii. 124—249.

141. *bote I pertly rudo*, except I clearly explain.

145. "His Godhead decreased not, though he lighted low, in such a way as to make him not always of the same might ; honoured may He be !"

149. *tei for his teeme*. *Tei* means tugged, pulled hard, drew ; hence it means, "used his best endeavours for his theme." Unless *for* is an

error for *forþ*, and then it means "drew forth his theme." The *theme* is the subject of discussion, Gk. θέμα; cf. P. Plowm. B. iii. 95, v. 61, vi. 23.

152. *bar him in herte*, bare (witness) to him in his heart, i. e. admitted to himself as regarding Joseph. To *beren in herte* is almost as untranslatable a phrase as to *beren in honde*, which occurs in Chaucer, Wif of Bathes Prol. 380, and elsewhere. See "Bear in hand" in Nares' Glossary. In the French, Joseph explains that he went barefoot for the love of Christ.

153. *He hedde I-ben*, He would have been ; *hedde he ben*, had he been.

159. *heiȝ in him-self*, incomprehensible in itself. *Of tellest*, tellest of.

161. *seie þe*, tell thee. *Hauē to done*, have (something) to do, i. e. am engaged.

164. "When our leisure is greater, our power of listening is better."

165. *aboute fifti*. The French says *seventy-five*; S. G. 56.

177. "He was in three kinds of anxiety, and they were these : 1. about the obstinacy of his barons ; 2. about Joseph's attempt to convert him ; and 3. how God could spotlessly dwell in a maiden."

181. *þreo*, three ; this means three trees or stems, or rather, one tree with three stems or trunks, a common symbol of the Trinity, as in P. Plowm. B. xvi. 22, 23. "Si li auant vne anisions, ke il veoit en mi lieu de sa maison la choke d'un grant arbre. . . De chele choke naissoient .ij. ieton mult grant et mult droit et mult haut, et si estoient tout .ij. d'un grant et d'un gros et d'une maniere ;" S. G. p. 58.

185. *signede*, signified. The stem with the dim bark signified Christ.

186. *out-wiȝ*, without ; a Northern form ; see Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary.

187. *to kennen vneouȝes*, to inform (him) of the marvels.

188. The chamberlain rises from his bed, but, on seeing the vision, falls down for fear ; but Evalak lifts him up, and tells him not to be afraid.

189. *feres* in the MS. may be an error for *beres*, which is alliterated to *bad*. See *feres* in the Glossary.

194. *of þreo maner enkes*, of three kinds of inks or colours. "Si uit en eascun des arbres, letres escrites, les vnes d'or, et les autres d'asur ;" S. G. p. 59. Here the French omits the *second* or silver ink, evidently by a mistake.

196. Our poet uses the word *wiht* (wight, person) unadvisedly ; no person spoke the words, but they were written on the stems. Or we may, perhaps, take *wiht* in the more unusual sense which it sometimes bears, viz. creature, thing, object ; a sense still retained in our *no whit*. On the first stem was written *Chist forme* (this makes or creates) ; on the second *Chist sauue* (this saves) ; on the third *Chist purcfe* (this purifies). The allusion to the Trinity is sufficiently obvious.

200. While he is looking, the three stems seem to coalesce into one, so that he cannot tell what to think of it ; S. G. p. 60.

204. The king has a second vision, in which (according to the French) he sees in the wall of his chamber, which was of wood, a door of marble, so neatly fitted into the wall that the joints could hardly be distinguished; and through this door, whilst still closed, he sees a child enter the room and go out again. This denoted the immaculate Incarnation of Christ.

209. *A vois.* In the French, this voice is heard by all the people in the palace, but the king tells the people it is a clap of thunder.

212. Here, as in the English, the French narrative returns to Joseph, who, in a very long prayer, beseeches for success.

213. *how may þis limpe*, &c.; “how will this turn out with regard to this king, who cannot understand?”

215. *Bote ȝif*, &c., “Unless I convert him at this time, ere he passes hence, he will never be converted.” Observe the future sense of *beos he*, which is a Northern form.

219. *for no-skunus þinge*, for a thing of no kind, i. e. on no account. The odd form *no skunus* is for *nos kunus*, a contraction of *nones lunes*. The form *any skynes* for *anys kynes* is also found; see my note to P. Plowm. A. ii. 175.

221. *wuestest*, didst protect; the French has *garandis*, didst warrant or protect. The verb *witen* sometimes means to protect; as in Seinte Marherete, ed. Cockayne, p. 2, fol. 38, l. 16; and Havelok, l. 405.

225. “Thou didst promise holy church that wouldest exalt her (the church’s) strength.”

231. Galahad, Joseph’s youngest son, was (according to the French) the ancestor of the famous men who so increased the renown of Britain; but our translator seems to think he was all one with Galahad, the son of Lancelet and Elaine.

232. *Auentures*, adventures, marvellous deeds.

234. In the morning Joseph arose, and roused all his company, and they prayed before the Grail-Ark, as was their custom; S. G. p. 66.

235. *hit þester bi-gon*, it began to grow dark. The French says nothing about the darkness, only that there was *en mout grant escrois*, a very great thunder-clap.

236. “Si sentirent *la terre*, qui trambloit desous ans mult durement.” S. G. p. 67. The change of *earth* to *grave* is no doubt due to the exigencies of alliteration.

237. Here our poet mentions how Joseph repaired to the ark, which he should have said sooner; see note to l. 234.

243. *Er*, at first, formerly; in the next line, *bote* means *but afterwards*.

251. *Josaphe*, called *Josephes* in the French to distinguish him from his father. Note this distinction.

253. “I will entrust to thee to-day, in a favourable time, a thing that is considered as the most honoured thing on earth; no one else is joyfully to receive it from me, but, on the contrary, each man who after this receives it, is to receive it from thee.”

258. Josaphe (or Josephes) on opening the lid of the ark, sees Christ surrounded by the five angels who bear the instruments of the passion.

262. *Three nails*; “trois claus tons sanglens.” This is because *one* nail was supposed to have pierced *both* feet.

“The crowne of thorne, þe spere, and nailys *thre*.”

Political, Rel., and Love Poems, ed. Furnivall, p. 111.

264. *lemede*, gleamed or glittered, when driven into the body. This word is clearly only used to obtain alliteration; it occurs again in l. 687.

267. *he falles*; *he ros*; here *he* refers to Josaphe. *He bad him*, Christ bade Josaphe.

269. Here Josaphe is supposed to look into the ark a second time, and he now sees the actual Crucifixion.

273. “Pierced with the spear (which) looses (or sets free) blood and water.”

274. “Saw (blood) run from them; (indeed he saw them) run all with red blood, streaming about.” The ellipses are very awkward. *Eornen* is another form of the verb *renne*. The French adds, that this blood is seen dripping into the Grail; which our poet should have mentioned.

277. Josaphe remains in a trance, till his father rouses him; then both look in together, and see Jesus as He was at the time of the Entombment.

285. The French mentions at least 13 angels, and is fuller. *Twayles* is the Fr. *touailles*, the modern *towels*.

288. *Wasscheles*. The French has—“si en nit issir .ij. angeles, dont li vns tenoit i. *orchuel* tout plain di aue, et li autres tenoit i. *jetoir* en sa main destre ;” S. G. p. 72. *Orchuel* is the Lat. *urceolus*, a little pitcher; *jetoir* is proved by the context (S. G. p. 73) to be a vessel for sprinkling people with holy water. Thus *wasscheles* signifies vessels for holy water; but the form *wasschel* looks more like a derivative from *wash* than another spelling of *vessel*; see l. 298.

291. I do not find the name “Gabriel” in the French; only that an angel appeared on whose forehead was written—“ie sui apieles forche del tres haut signour;” i. e. I am called the Strength of the Most High God. This angel does not carry a “sege” or *seat*, but a green cloth, with the Grail resting upon it; but further on we find an account of a very rich *kaiere* (chair) on which Josaphe is made to sit, which chair was afterwards preserved in the city of Sarras; S. G. p. 75.

299. *þat geyn weedc*, that excellent garment, or rather, clothing, referring to the *vestemens* (Fr. *vestemens*) of l. 294.

300. “And consecrated him as bishop, with both two (of) his hands, and told him about the vestments, what they signified.” In the French, he is arrayed with shoes, to keep his feet from evil paths, an upper garment signifying Chastity, an under-garment signifying Virginity, a head-covering meaning Humility, a green garment meaning Invincible Patience, another white one for Justice, a band on the left arm for Abstinence, a necklace of Obedience, and an upper garment over all, which is

Charity. He also holds the staff of Vengeance-and-Mercy, the former being denoted by the bend at the top, the latter by the spiked end; a ring on his finger, called the ring of Matrimony, and a horned hat, meaning Confession.

302. The oil with which Josaphe was consecrated was kept in the Grail-ark, and afterwards used at the consecration of all the kings of Britain down to Uther-pendragon; S. G. p. 75.

306. "I commit to thee souls to keep; if any, through thy fault, fall from my kingdom, at the Day of Judgment thou shalt be sharply reproved." The word *defaute* is from the French "par *defaute de toi*;" S. G. p. 79.

314. *paleys*, palace. This "palace" was the one which had been assigned to Joseph and his company to lodge in. It bore the name of Spiritual Palace (*li palais esperitus*), a name which had been given to it by Daniel, who had caused this name to be written upon it in black letters in Hebrew characters. But no one at the time knew what the name meant, nor was the meaning ever suspected till it was rendered evident by the lodging of Joseph and his company in it, when they prayed before the Grail-Ark, and the Holy Ghost descended on them; S. G. 67. Our English version somewhat alters this, obtaining from the word "spiritual" the statement that evil spirits had once dwelt there, l. 315; and changing the name into Adventurous or Marvellous. The word *Auntres* is lit. "adventures," but it is probably an error for *Auntrous* (adventurous), which is spelt *Auntrose* in *William of Palerne*, l. 921.

329. *take*, to catch him; this reminds us of Mark xii. 13.

335. *forsake*, go back from, recall, deny.

345. Josaphe stands up, and his father sits down, feeling himself beaten.

349. This seems to be—"Thou hast seen to-night (that which) signifies to some (that) thou hast made evident to them in what point He (God) is displeased; thou shalt be visited with vengeance [lit. shalt have vengeance] verily and soon." *Summe* is, apparently, the dative plural of *sum*, the modern *some*. To "diskeuer" is to make plain, reveal.

355. This idea of suffering from an enemy's invasion is probably imitated from 2 Sam. xxiv, 13.

360. In the French, the clerk becomes dumb and blind, but without his eyes flying out of his head. See a very similar story in Chaucer, Man of Lawes Tale, 573.

371. *to fonge þe trouþe*, to receive the trutn (will help you); in the French, "se tu rechois la creanche;" S. G. 87.

372. "And what (says Evalac) do you think will befall this man (the clerk who was blind and dumb); is recovery in store for him?" *Tides him hele* is lit. does recovery of health betide him? The phrase recurs in l. 617, where it means—"is he successful and well?" The French has—"Et li rois li redist (*answered*), 'Ore me di, iosephe, de chelui qui a perdu la parole et la veue, se il recouerra iamais?' S. G. p. 88. Josaphe re-

plies by telling the king to go to the temple of the idols, and to test their might. So the clerk is taken thither accordingly.

376. *Appolin* in the French.

379. The French mentions “lymage martis,” the image of Mars, whence the *Martis* of the English version.

385. “The fiend flew out of his body into the air.” In the French, it is not Josaphe himself, but the evil spirit which was in the image of Mars, which, by Josaphe’s permission, destroyed the image of Apollo as well as all the other images in the temple. Some of the fiends were supposed to reside in the air (Eph. ii. 2); cf. P. Plowm. B. i. 123.

386. *opure*, others. In the French, the king turns to the image of Mars, and begins to do sacrifice before it, but is stopped by Josaphe, who tells him that he will die on the spot if he persists.

391. The king here goes on to another question, no more mention being made of the blind and dumb clerk. A similar omission occurs in MS. Addit. 10292, which differs somewhat from the Royal MS. xiv. E. iii., the one partly printed by Mr Furnivall, and from which therefore all my extracts are made.

394. The MS. has *vmbe mong ȝongen*, which certainly seems to prove that there was once a word *vmbe-mong*, compounded of *vmbe*, round about, and *-mong*, amongst (A.S. *on-mang*); but I have not found *vmbe-mong* elsewhere. We cannot suppose it an error for *vmbe mon ȝongen*—must go about, because that would refer to the future, whereas the spirit complains that the two Christians are going about already. The verb *ymb-gan* occurs in A.S., meaning *to go round*, and corresponds to the O. Fries. *umbegunga*, Old-Saxon *umbigangan*, Icel. *umganga*, G. *umgchen*.

396. “Il a .ij. angeles auoec lui qui le conduisen et gardent par tous les lieus ou il va; si tient li vns vne espee toute nue, et li autres vne crois;” S. G. p. 89.

402. Hereabonts begins the English translation by Henry Lonelich, which is defective at the beginning; I give a few extracts below.

405. *Nagister*; called *Ouagre* in the French, and *Oriable* in Lonelich’s translation; S. G. p. 91.

406. *keueres rppon*, advances further.

407. *Alongines*; called *Eualachin* in the French, and *Valachin* by Lonelich.

408. The French says 30,000 knights and 60,000 foot; Lonelich has 20,000 horsemen and 40,000 foot; S. G. p. 91.

410. *þei han*. Our poet is certainly wrong here, or else the scribe should have written *han þei*; i. e. if they have gotten that hold, &c. Enalac raised an army to relieve the siege of this town, and succeeded so far, that Tholomer never took it.

414. *bounen*, to prepare, get ready. Mr Morris suggests that it is equivalent to *bannen*, to assemble, but perhaps the former explanation may stand. The adjective *bowne* (ready) is common, but the verb is somewhat scarce. I give three instances from the Percy Folio MS., ed. Hales and Furnivall.

"He bad buske him & *borne* him : to goe on his message ;"

Scotish Feilde, l. 113.

"Then they *borened* them, both more & lesse ;" *Eger & Grine*, l. 1325.

"In ladyes [clothes] will yee mee *borne* ;" *Kinge Adler*, l. 57.

See the adj. *boun* in l. 461.

416. *Carboye*; called *Curabel* in one French version, and *Tarabiel* in another. Lonelich has—

"Anon his sonde he dide to sende
Ouer al tho into euerich ende,
To alle tho that of him took ony fe,
Anon with him that thei scholden be,
And on the morwe to ben gadering
Atte castel of *Tarabe* with-owten taryenge,
That twenty miles from Sarras is,
And fro Valachim sixtene more ne mis (*sic*),
Where-as Tholomes atte sege was."

Thus in l. 418, the expression "from thence where they lay" means "from the town of Valachim (Alongines) which the enemy were besieging."

420. *Wostou*, knowest thou ; *wendes*, goest. A mixture of dialectal forms. Cf. *coust* in the next line.

423. Evalac's father was a cobbler in the town of *Miaus* or *Miaux*, i. e. Meaux.

425. *Ouzte*, possessed, had dominion over. The story is, that Augustus, hearing that a Child was to be born who would be his Superior, determined to exact homage from his subject states, and demanded from France a hundred knights, a hundred knights' daughters (our version merely mentions forty of the latter), and a hundred children under five years of age. Amongst these were two daughters of Count Sevain, lord of Meaux, with whom Evalac went as page. The girls died, and Evelac, at the age of twenty, was sent by Tiberius as a present to Felis, Count of Syria. Evelac quarrelled one day with the earl's son, whom he slew, and thereupon fled to the court of Tholomes, king of Babylon, then at war with Holofernes, whom Evelac conquered. For this service, he received Holofernes' kingdom.

428. *For þou were*, because thou wast.

431. *souȝtes fro*, wentest away from.

433. *woxen rn-sauȝt*, became unreconciled, i. e. quarrelled.

435. *laȝtest*, didst remain.

436. The French does not say that Tholomes (who may be different from the Tholomer above) was an old man.

438. *For þou toke*, because thou didst take.

446. The cross was made by fastening two strips of red cloth, each a foot long, crosswise upon the shield.

448. *Vigore*, figure. In one MS. of Chancer's Astrolabe, *figure* is spelt *vigour* throughout. The French has *chest signe*, this sign. Further on, in a passage corresponding to l. 560, Lonelich has—"And the *vigour* of the eros þere he beheld ;" S. G. p. 150.

450. *pis oþer*, these others, *pl.* It means the enemy. Here follows, in the French and Lonelich, a long description of the castle of Valachin.

452. "Tholomer's men got the upper hand, and bore Evelac's men down, and brought them to the ground; then Evelac's men turned again (fled)." Evelac retreated to a castle named Laoines (*Comes* in Lonelich), and Tholomer pursued him hotly. Meanwhile, however, Evelac's subjects in Valachin sallied out, spoiled Tholomer's tents, and retreated again; this is the sense of ll. 455—457.

459. "Then came one spurring quickly to meet him."

463. *scholde*, must, had better.

465. "Therefore she is desirous that he may know it." The queen, by Joseph's advice, warns Evelac that he is in a dangerous place.

472. Evelac, retreating on Sarras, gets more men together, and, in particular, is reinforced by a party of 500 men (Lonelich says 4000) led by Seraphe, his queen's brother, whom he had formerly treated very badly, though not deserving such hatred.

486. "Seraphe, so thou ill onghitest (to have done); it sore repents me that I often ill-used you; for those of one's own kin will ever be friendly, whatever may happen."

489. *pis oþere*, these others; as in l. 450.

491. "That they who acted on his adviee should rue no attack, through him."

493. "And think, good men, upon the grief that is our children's; (lit. to our children), and what will befall thereof, if we be confounded."

497. *geten on hem*, approached them. It means, the hosts had now approached each other within a glaive's length. This battle took place before a town called *Orkans* or *Orkaus*.

499. "And thrust down the proude ones."

502. "Bore death in his hand, and distributed it around him. He had an axe on high, with a great handle (helve); he held it hard with ligatures (or pressure?) in his two hands; so he smote them with it, and proved his strength, that little might they get away from him, and take to flight. There were steeds to destroy, conflicts to mingle (in); mighty men meet, and hammer through shields; hard hanberks they burst through, and pierced the breast (of the foe); bright shone upon the shaft the blood of heroes. Those that hover about on horse-back hew through helms," &c. Surely a fine passage.

513. *schindringe of scharpe*, cutting of sharp swords; and afterwards died the death, &c.

516. "Hard shields, cloven apart, fell in quarters; (they) slay horse and man wholly at once."

518. *in þe stour lafte*, remained in the battle. In the French, Evelak's steward nearly succeeds in slaying Tholomer himself.

521. *wel a two*, about two. See l. 549.

522. In the French, Tholomer's men flee, and are pursued by Seraphe and Evelac to a narrow pass, where there was a rock which was named

afterwards the "Rock of Blood" from the great loss of life there in this battle. Evalac left some men there to keep the pass, and a second skirmish afterwards took place there ; cf. l. 604

527. Tholomer's brother was named Manarcus (Manaquit in the French) ; he is sent by Tholomer to attack Seraphe ; S. G. p. 140.

530. *aseries*, cries out against, shouts against. The French has "si s'serie," and Lonelich translates—

"Seraphe gan hem *aserie* mani folde ;" S. G. p. 130.

531. *a gome*, a man. This was Manarcus ; see l. 536.

539. "Then they fell, for anger, upon Seraphe's knights."

543. While Seraphe is in his swoon, 200 horsemen ride over him, and he is naturally supposed to be dead.

544. *streizte to*, stretched his hand towards.

545. *cullies on*, strikes upon. Here *cullen* is used merely for *hitting*, just as the E.E. *slen* (*slay*) means both to strike and to slay.

550. "That he might not (go) to him."

555. Evelac was pierced with three glaives, scized by Tholomer's men, and beaten.

558. *forte fallen him feye*, to fell him dead.

560. *Child*, man, viz. Christ. Evelac looks at the red cross so long that at last the figure of Christ appears upon it. *Stremyng on*, streaming with.

562. The white knight is an angel. Similar stories are not uncommon ; cf. 2 Maccabees, x. 29. Santiago visibly aided the Spaniards in as many as thirty-eight different battles ; Southey's *Pilgrim to Compostella*, note 5. See also Southey's *Roderick* (canto xxv.), where the king is supposed to be an angel.

567. In the French, the white knight only unhorses Tholomer, and sends him prisoner to the town of Orkans.

575. I here give a specimen of Lonelich's translation.

"On of hem drowgh owt a lite knyf,
And wolde hau be-reved Seraphe his lif,
Forte hau smeten him a-middes the fase
Through the eylettes of his helm in that plase.
But ouereomen so was tho Seraphë
That comfort with him myhte non be ;
For he was ouereomen so with his blood
So it was merveille that [he] vppe stood,
For on hors power hadde he non to sitte,
Ne of that stede there onys to flytte ;
But for febelte that he inne was
Ouer the hors nekke he bowede in that plas,
That power vp to sitte non hadde he,
So that of his purpos failled his eneme." S. G. p. 156.

588. *note*, make good use of ; *newed*, renewed.

589. *Hau her-on*, take hold of this ; *yonpon my bi-halue*, for my sake.

595. "As fresh as a hawk ; (yea) fresher at that time than when they advanced thither, at their first onset."

601. Tholomer's steward, named Narbus, rallies his men, and they attempt to retreat by the pass of the "Rock of Blood ;" but "the folk of the Rock" (i. e. those left by Evalac to guard it) utterly rout them.

616. *bi-leued*, left behind. The queen's name was Sarraquite or Sarracynte.

623. "Give me an assurance of that." The queen then offers to pledge her faith; Joseph replies that she has no faith. She asks him what is his belief, and he repeats the creed. The queen also repeats the creed, and admits that she has secretly been a Christian for a long time.

635. The hermit's name was Salustes or Salustine; he cured Sarracynte's mother, as related below.

645. *heo*, she; *viz.* my mother.

646. "Wilt thou believe on this man ?" Sarracynte thinks her mother refers to the hermit, and replies that she will not believe on one so old and gray, but only on one who is as fair as her own brother. She then sees Christ in a vision.

655. *ar þow henne seehc*, ere thou go hence.

657. *blusch*, glance. "A wind and a scent wrapped us around;" i. e. enclosed us. Lonelich has—

"Many wondirful swetnesse aforne me fyl [fell],
And the hows so ful there-offen was,
And thereto swich delicacie in that plas ;" S. G. p. 174.

660. *Vsede of Goddes lord*, made use of God's table, i. e. administered to us the sacrament, "si fist deuant nous ichel saint sacrament ;" S. G. p. 176.

661. "He brought us a writing, which he entrusted to us to keep joyfully." Our version here omits a very long piece about Sarracynte's mother.

674. Insert *he*, which means Joseph.

679. "He had his one arm cut off, which he carried in his other hand."

687. "It seemed to them that he gleamed as light, all in a blaze."

695. Mordreyns is explained to mean "tardiens en creanche," slow of belief. *A lat mon* = a slow or sluggish man; lit. a *late* man. The healed knight was named Climachideus (*Clumacides* in Lonelich, *Cleomadas* in our l. 692), which means "gonfanomiers au glorieus" (standard-bearer to the Glorious One); S. G. p. 178.

698. *let water hize*, caused (or commanded) water to go quickly (i. e. to fly about quickly). *Let* (caused) is nearly always thus followed by an infinitive, and the only infinitive thus spelt is *hize*, to lie, hasten, come or go in haste. *Hize* has nothing to do with *high*, for the latter is spelt *heiȝe* throughout.

702. *nouþer þei nusten*, lit. not where they knew not, i. e. they knew not whither.

703. *casten*, to confute; cf. l. 117.

704. For the rest of the story, see "The Lyfe of Joseph of Armathy," here printed; p. 27. The king of North Wales, named Crwdelx, imprisons Josaphe, but is slain by Mordreins; cf. S. G. vol. ii.

708, 709. "Then they (Josaphe and his company) committed the blood (the Grayl) to two men to keep safely, and they depart from the town, and leave the Grayl behind." Lonelich's version has—

"Than alle tho gan he with him take
 That owt of Ierusalem weren his make,
 Excepte only persones thanne thre
 That he lefte with the Arche [*Ark*] forto be,
 And that holy disch that was there-inne
 It savely to kepen from more oþer mynne [*greater or less*];
 Which on of hem "Enacore" gonne they calle,
 The tother "Manasses," as tho gan falle;
 The thridde was clepid "Lwean"
 Thi[]ke same tyme of every man,
 That Ioseph took [*gave*] the Arch in kepinge
 To his purpos as to a man of best levynge;
 And thus these thre leften there
 To kepen this holy Arch in this manere;
 And alle the tothere gonnen forth to gon,
 Cristes name to sanctefien anon,
 And the peple to ȝeven baptiseng,
 And this was alle here labowrenc;" &c. S. G. p. 200.

As the most interesting part of Evelac's early history breaks off here, I think it very likely that the author of our English version, having told about the baptism of Evelac and Seraphe, and leaving the Holy Grail in safe keeping, purposely broke off here; there being nothing to shew that the copy in the Vernon MS. is incomplete at the end.

NOTES TO "THE LYFE OF JOSEPHI OF ARMATHY."

THIS one piece has purposely been printed so as to retain the peculiar punctuation of the original, in order to shew the method then in use. Thus, the full stop in l. 11 after the word "prophecye" is used where we should now use a comma, and so on.

P. 27, l. 7. *thantyquytes*, the antiquities; compare *thonourable* in the next line. The unusual words occurring in this piece are explained in the Glossarial Index to it.

P. 30, l. 6. *wyped my face with a rose*; this is hardly a correct translation. Capgrave has—"elevavit me de terra, *rosaque perfudit me, et extergens faciem meam osculatus est me, et dixit michi*," &c. That is, "Christ sprinkled me with a rose, and, wiping my face, kissed me."

P. 30, l. 34. For the story of the Assumption of the Virgin into heaven, see "King Horn, with fragments of Floriz and Blauncheflur, and of the Assumption of Our Lady," ed. Rev. J. R. Lumby (E. E. T. S.). The apostles were all present at it—

"Come þe apostles euerychon
To-gidre, but þei wist nouȝt
How þei weren to-gidre brouȝt." LL. 304—306.

See also Mr Lumby's preface, pp. vii, viii.

P. 31, l. 16. In Mr Furnivall's "Seynt Graal," vol. ii. p. 125, the number of persons who crossed the sea upon Joseph's shirt is increased to 150, the number left behind being 260.

P. 31, l. 23. In the same work, vol. i. p. 363 and pp. 377—419, "Solomon's ship" is mentioned and described. It was made by order of Solomon's wife, and contained David's sword. See Sir Thomas Malcore's *Morte d'Arthur*, reprinted by Southey in 1817; or see the "Globe" edition, book xvii. ch. vi. The word "Medor" in the title of Natianiis (*Nasciens*) is a corruption of the Latin gen. pl. *Medorum*.

P. 31, l. 32. For the account of Crwdelx, king of North Wales, see "Seynt Graal," vol. ii. p. 187; he was attacked by Mordreins and Nasciens, and slain by Gaanort. Celydomus or Celydoine was the son

of Nasciens and Flegentyne, who preached to Label, king of Persia, and afterwards married his daughter; he became king of a part of Britain, defeated the Saxons, and was buried at Camelot; Seynt Graal, ii. 221, 377, &c. Observe that "the kynges daughter of Persye" means "the daughter of the king of Persia." The reader will also further observe that *Labell* was rather the name of *the king himself*; but the name is given to the daughter not here only, but also in the verse "Lyfe;" see p. 42, l. 174.

The "Lyfe of Joseph of Armathy" is simply a translation from Capgrave's "Nova Legenda Angliae;" see the preface. A similar Latin original is printed also in *Johannes Glastoniensis*, ed. Hearne, vol. i. p. 48. The title is, in Capgrave, "Sequitur extractio de libro antiquitatis glastoñ. de sancto Ioseph ab armathia accepta de libro quodam per theodosium imperatorem inuenito in pretorio pi[la]ti in hierusalem." *Nova Legenda*, fol. clxxxvib. This clearly points to the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, the prologue of which represents one Ananias as translating the said Gospel in the time of *Theodosius*; see Cowper's Apocryphal Gospels, p. 229. The translation is in general very close. It must be noted, however, that the opening sentence—"Forasmuch as often times," &c.—is not found in Capgrave, but occurs in *John of Glastonbury* in the form following. "Quoniam dubia sæpe legentem fallunt, certa, dubiis ablatis, atque ex antiquis historiographorum dictis probata, de antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiae quædam subinferemus." Then follows, in both, the Latin text beginning, "Crucifixo Domino, & completis omnibus quæ de eo fuerant prophetata," &c.

The story follows the Gospel of Nicodemus, beginning near the end of Chap. XI, p. 248 of Cowper's edition, where we read of Joseph's imprisonment, his miraculous escape, how he was found at Arimathea, and how the priests and Levites wrote a letter to him, in consequence of which he rode to Jerusalem and there told Annas and Caiphas how Christ had released him, and commanded him not to go out of his house for forty days. At the words in l. 23, on p. 30—"And this sayd and done, Ihesus vanysshed awaye" (*et hijs dictis disparuit*) Capgrave ceases to follow the account in the Gospel of Nicodemus, and I therefore give the remainder of the story in his words.

"Post hec fidei feroore animatus nobilis ioseph ab armathia beati philippi apostoli disciplinatu se tradidit: atque eius salubri disciplina affluenter refertus, ab ipso cum filio suo iosephe baptizatus est. Postea vero a beato iohanne apostolo dum ipse predicationi efesorum insudaret, beate perpetueque virginis marie paronymphus¹ delegatus est, eiusdemque gloriose virginis assumptioni cum beato philippo ceterisque discipulis interfuit. Atque ea que de domino² ac de eius genitrici³ audierat & viderat constanter⁴ per diuersas regiones predicauit. Multosque conuertens & baptizans, tandem quinto decimo post⁵ beate virginis assumptionem anno, cum memorato filio suo iosephe quem dominus ihesus prius in ciuitate sarath in episcopum conseverauit,⁶ ad sanctum philippum apostolum in

¹ Misprinted "paranymphus" in Capgrave, but see Hearne's "Johannes Glastoniensis," vol. i. p. 51; where we find *paranymphus*. ² Here Hearne's text inserts *Ihesu Christo*.

³ Here Hearne inserts *Maria*.

⁴ Hearne inserts *supradicta*.

⁵ Hearne has *instanter*.

⁶ Hearne has *consecraverat*.

gallias venit. Dispersis enim post ascensionem domini discipulis per diuersa regna orbis terrarum, vt testatur freculfus¹ libro suo secundo, capitulo quarto, reg[n]um francorum predicandi gratia adiens philippus² plures ad fidem christi conuertit & baptizavit. Volens igitur beatus³ apostolus verbum dei dilatari : duodecim ex discipulis suis ad euangelizandum vite⁴ verbum in britanniam misit, quibus charissimum amicum suum ioseph predictum, qui sepeluit dominum, vna cum filio suo iosefe prefecit. Venerunt autem eum eis, vt legitur in libro qui sanctum graal appellatur, sexcenti et amplius tam viri quam femine, qui omnes votum voverunt quod ab uxoribus propriis abstinerent quousque terram sibi delegatam ingressi fuissent. Quod tamen preuaricati sunt omnes preter centum quinquaginta, qui iubente domino mare super camisiam ipsius iosefes transeuntes in nocte dominice resurrectionis⁵ applicuerunt in mane. Aliis autem penitentibus & iosefe⁶ pro eis orante, missa est nauis a domiuo quam rex salamon artificiose suo tempore fabricauerat vsque ad christi tempora duraturam : in qua die eadem ad suos socios peruererunt cum quodam duce medorum nomine naciano, quem ioseph prius baptizavit⁷ in ciuitate saram⁸ cum rege eiusdem ciuitatis cui nomen mordraius. Cui dominus postea in visu apparens : manus & pedes perforatos cum latere lanciato ostendit. Cui rex quasi multum compatiens dixit ; 'O domine deus meus, quis tibi talia inferre presumpsit ?' Et dominus ; 'Hec mihi,' inquit, 'fecit perfidus rex nort[h]wallie qui serum meum ioseph nomen meum in partibus suis predicanter cum sociis suis carceri mancipauit, inhumanitus negans eis victui necessaria. Tu ergo gladio tuo accinctus ad partes illas properare ne⁹ differas, vt vindictam facias de tyranno et seruos meos soluas a vinculis.' Rex autem euigilans et de visione¹⁰ exultans in domino, disposita domo sua et regno iter cum exercitu suo arripuit : & deo ducente ad locum perveniens regi prefato mandauit quatinus seruos dei liberos abire permetteret. Ille vero mandato eius nullatenus acquiescens, ei cum indignatione mandauit quatinus absque mora de terra sua exiret. Quo auditio, rex mordraius venit contra eum cum suo exercitu & duce naciano supramemorato, qui ipsum in bello iusta vltione peremit. Tunc rex mordraius accedens ad carcerem¹¹ ioseph cum sociis suis in magno gaudio eduxit, narrans ei visionem ostensam a domino super liberatione eorum. Tunc vniuersi gaudio magno repleti immensas gratiarum actiones domino persoluebant.¹² Post hec¹³ ioseph cum filio suo iosefe¹⁴ ac decem aliis sociis peragrantes britanniam, regnante tunc in eadem rege aruirago : anno ab incarnatione domini sexagesimo tertio, fidem christi fiducialiter predicabant. Rex autem barbarus cum sua gente tam noua audiens et inconsueta, nec paternas volens in melius commutare traditiones, predicationi eorum [consentire]¹⁵ renuebat. Quia tamen de longe venerant, visa vite eorum modestia, quandam insulam siluis, rubis, atque paludinibus circundatam ab incolis ynswytryn, id est, insula vitrea nuncupatam, in lateribus sue regionis ad habitandum concessit : vnde quidam metricus [sic ait]¹⁶

Intrat aualloniam duodena caterua virorum,
Flos armathie ioseph est primus eorum :
Iosephes ex ioseph genitus patrem comitatur ;
Hijs alisque decem ius glastonie propriatur.

¹ Printed text, *fretulfus*.

² Printed text, *philosophus* (!) "Philippus . . . Gallis predictat Christum," &c.; Freculphus, Chronicon Libri Duo, Tom. ii. Lib. ii. c. iv. Hearne has *adiens plures*, omitting *philippus*.

³ Hearne—*Sanctus*.

⁴ Hearne—*verbum Del.*

⁵ Hearne—*resurrepcionis dominicae*.

⁶ Hearne inserts *memorato*.

⁷ Hearne—*baptisaverat*.

⁸ Hearne—*Saraz*.

⁹ Hearne—*non*.

¹⁰ Hearne inserts—*sibi ostensa*.

¹¹ Hearne—*carcerem, in quo rex ille iniquus Ioseph inclusum cum suis sociis detinabat, ipsum cum gaudio magno inde eduxit*, &c.

¹² Here the English ceases to follow the Latin, viz. at p. 92, l. 19.

¹³ Hearne inserts *Sanctus*.

¹⁴ Hearne inserts *memorato*.

¹⁵ From Hearne.

¹⁶ From Hearne.

Predicti igitur sancti in eodem deserto conuersantes post pusillum temporis per archangulum gabrielem in visione admoniti sunt ecclesiam in honore sancte dei genitricis & perpetue virginis Marie in loco eis¹ celitus demonstrato construere. Qui diuinis admonitionibus obedientes capellam quandam per circuitum virginis torquatis muros perficientes consummauerunt anno post passionem domini tricesimo primo, ab assumptione vero virginis gloriose² quinto decimo, eodem autem³ anno quo ad sanctum philippum apostolum in gallias venerant & ab eo in britanniam missi sunt, ex deformi quidem seemate sed dei multipliciter adornatam virtute. Et cum hec in hac regione prima fuerit ecclesia, ampliori eam dignitate [Dei filius]⁴ insigniuit, ipsum in honore sue matris principaliter dedicando. Duodecim igitur sancti predicti⁵ in eodem loco deo et beate virginis deuota exhibentes obsequia, vigiliis, ieuniis, & orationibus vacantes, eiusdem virginis dei genitricis auxilio in necessitatibus suis refocilabuntur. Quorum comperta vite sanctimonia, alij duo reges, licet pagani, marius aruiragi regis filius et coillus marij filius, vnicuique eorum vnam hidam terre concesserent ac pariter confirmauerunt, vnde & adhuc duodecim hide per eos nomen sortiuntur. Effluentibus namque paucis annorum curriculis sancti memorati carnis ergastulo sunt educti; inter quos et ioseph sepultus est et positus in linea bifurcata iuxta oratorium predictum. Cepit igitur idem locus esse ferarum latibulum, qui prius fuerat habitatio sanctorum; donec placuit beate virginis suum oratorium redire ad memoriam fidelium.

¶ Hec scriptura reperitur in gestis⁶ regis arturi. Ioseph ab armathia nobilis decurionem cum filio suo iosephes dicto & alijs pluribus in maiorem britanniam, que nunc anglia dicta est, venisse & ibidem vitam finiuisse testatur liber de gestis incliti regis arturi; in inquisitione scilicet⁷ cuiusdam militis illustris dicti lancelot de lac facta per socios rotunde tabule, videlicet vbi quidam heremita exponit Walwano misterium eiusdem fontis saporem & colorem crebro mutantis; ⁸ [ubi & scribebatur, quod miraculum illud non terminaretur, donec veniret magnus leo, qui & collum magnis vinculis haberet constrictum. Item in sequentibus, in inquisitione vasis, quod ibi vocant *Sanctum Graal*, refertur fere in principio, ubi albus miles exponit Galaat, filio LanceLOT, misterium ejusdem mirabilis scuti, quod eidem deferendum commisit, quod nemo aliis, sine gravi dispendio, ne una quidem die poterat portare.]

Hec scriptura inuenitur in libro melkini, qui fuit ante merlinum.

Insula auallonis anida⁹ [funere paganorum, præ ceteris in orbe ad sepulturam eorum omnium sperulis prophecia vaticinantibus decorata, & in futurum ornata erit altissimum laudantium. Abbadare, potens in Saphat,¹⁰ paganorum nobilissimus, cum centum [et] quatuor milibus dormitionem ibi accepit.] Inter quos ioseph de marmore, ab armathia nomine, cepit somnum perpetuum. Et iacet in linea bifurcata iuxta meridianum angulum oratrii, eratibus preparatis, super potentem adorandam virginem, [supradictis]¹¹ sperulatis locum habitantibus tredecim. Habet enim secum ioseph in sarcophago duo fassula alba & argentea, cruro prophete ihesu & sudore perimpleta. Cum reperiatur eius sarcofagum, integrum illibatum in futuris videbitur, & erit apertum toti orbi terrarum. Ex tunc nec aqua, nec ros celi insulam nobilis-

¹ So in Hearne; Capgrave has *eius*. ² Hearne inserts *ut dictum est*. ³ Hearne—*scilicet*.

⁴ From Hearne.

⁵ Hearne has—*Itaque Sancti, sapius memorati*.

⁶ Hearne inserts *incoliti*. ⁷ So in Hearne. Capgrave has *inquisitiones*, omitting *scilicet*.

⁸ Omitted by Capgrave; supplied from John of Glastonbury.

⁹ Capgrave has “funeris, &c.” omitting a passage, which is here supplied from John of Glastonbury, and may be found also in MS. Cotton, Titus B. vii, fol. 29 b; and again, in MS. Arundel 220, fol. 274.

¹⁰ *Maspat* in Cotton and Arundel MSS.

¹¹ From Hearne.

simam habitantibus poterit deficere. Per multum tempus ante diem iudicium in iosaphat erunt aperta hec, & viuentibus declarata. Hucusque melkinus."

Here Capgrave's account ceases, but we find in John of Glastonbury some verses and a couple of genealogies shewing King Arthur's descent from Joseph, which I here subjoin.

"*Versus de Sancto Joseph de aurora, quæ & biblia versificata dicitur.*

Cum sero fieret Joseph decurio dives,
Civis de Ramatha justus honestus adest.
Clam servus Christi fuit hic; a præside corpus
Postulat ergo Ihesu, præcipit ille dari.
Præbet opem Nichodemus ei, qui tempore noctis
Venerat ad Ihesum, corde fatendo fidem.
Hii mundum corpus involvunt sindoue munda,
Inque petra tumulant, qui petra nostra fuit.

Hæc scriptura testatur, quod rex Arthurus de stirpe Joseph descendit.

Helaius, nepos Joseph, genuit Iosue. Iosue genuit Aminadab. Aminadab genuit Castellors. Castellors genuit Maael. Maael genuit Lambord & Ur-lard. Lambord genuit filium, qui genuit Ygernam, de qua rex Uterpendragun genuit nobilem & famosum regem Arthurum; per quod patet, quod rex Arthurus de stirpe Joseph descendit.

Item de eodem.

Petrus, consanguineus Joseph ab Armathia, Rex Organiae, genuit Erlan. Erlan genuit Melianum. Melianus genuit Arguth. Arguth genuit Edor. Edor genuit Loth, qui duxit in uxorem sororem regis Arthuri, de qua genuit quatuor filios, scilicet Walwanum, Agraneys, Gwrehehs & Geheries."

Besides the passage just quoted from the "book of Melkin," the Cotton and Arundel MSS. have a passage, which I here add for the sake of completeness. It stands exactly the same in both, except that some of the contractions used are different.

"Ex quo apostoli divisi erant in diuersas regiones predicare verbum dei, sanctus philippus apostolus sortitus est regionem franeie cum suis discipulis. De quibus misit in britanniam .xij. quorum primus erat Ioseph ab aramathia, qui et dominum sepeluit, Anno ab incarnatione domini lxij. et ab assumptione beate marie xv. ; quibus xij. hide a paganis regibus ibidem inuenitis erant concessæ et confirmatae; qui ibidem commorantes, per gabrielis archangeli admonitionem ecclesiam in honore sanete marie ex virgis torquatis muros perficientes construxerunt, anno post passionem domini xxxij. ; quam ecclesiam dominus noster ihesus christus in honore sue matris presencialiter dedecauit, et idem Ioseph ab aramathia cum filio suo Iosepho et ceteris suis socijs ibidem vitam suam finisse multi testantur, etc."

A very similar account is given in the Historia Johannis Glas-toniensis, ed. Hearne, vol. i. p. 1.

"Anno post passionem Domini trecesimo primo duodecim ex discipulis Sancti Philippi apostoli, ex quibus Joseph ab Arimathia primus erat, in terram istam venerant, qui regi Arvirago renuenti Christianitatem optulerunt. Tamen locum istum cum duodecim hidis terre ab eo impetraverunt, in quo virgis torquatis muros perficientes, primam hujus regni construxerunt ecclesiam, quam Christus in honorem suæ matris, & locum ad sepulturam servorum suorum præsencialiter

dedieavit. Isti duodecim & eorum successores, diu sub eodem numero heremitaean vitam hic ducentes, magnam multitudinem paganorum ad fidem Christi converterunt."

NOTES TO "DE SANCTO JOSEPH AB ARIMATHIA."

This extract from "The Kalendre of the New Legende of Englande" is a mere epitome of the account in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliae*, but all reference to the "book called the Graal" seems to be carefully avoided.

P. 34, l. 3. The Latin hexameters commencing "Intrat Aualloniam" have been already printed on p. 69, in their due place in Capgrave's account.

P. 34, l. 8. The *two kings* were Arviragus and Coillus, as in Capgrave's account, on p. 70.

P. 34, l. 10. *whiche to this day be called the xii. hydes.* This statement is, I suppose, still true even at the present day. At any rate the mention of "a district, denominated *to this day* 'the twelve hides of Glaston'" occurs in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, v. i, p. 1; see the whole passage, as quoted in the preface.

NOTES TO THE VERSE "LYFE" PRINTED BY PYNSON, A.D. 1520.

The first 216 lines agree with the accounts already given, and seem to be from the same source, viz. Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliae*. The latter part of the poem is sufficiently original, and was probably written in the year 1502, or soon after.

L. 5. *v. welles.* i. e. the five wounds. For the story of Longinus, see Piers the Plowman, B. xviii. 78—91, &c. It is taken from the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.

13. *perysshed*, pierced; as at p. 31, l. 28. This curious spelling also occurs in some MSS. of Piers the Plowman; see the footnote to Text B. xvii. 189.

32. The *two cructs* are shewn in the woodcut on the title page; p. 35.

125. *of ioye separete*; this corresponds to p. 31, l. 13.

174. See note to p. 31, l. 32.

194. Arviragus, the younger son of Cymbeline, is Shakespeare's Arviragus. See Lazamon's Brut, v. i. p. 392, and Spenser's Faerie Queene, bk. ii. c. x. st. 52, 53.

234. The 18th year of Henry the Seventh began Aug. 22. 1502, and ended Aug. 21, 1503. The writer is here referring to the numerous cures said to have taken place chiefly in April, 1502 (cf. note to l. 289), but the first cure which he mentions must have taken place in 1501, when two young women of Dolting or Doultong parish, near Shepton Mallet, "made their offering" on St Simon's day, Oct. 28. After this happened many a miracle (l. 241), followed by a "continuance of grace" (l. 257), and then the numerous miracles in April, 1502, in the middle of Henry's eighteenth year.

245. *Four hundred* should surely be *fourteen hundred*. If Joseph died in the latter half of the first century (cf. l. 136), this would come nearly right.

258. Banwell lies a few miles to the N.W. of Axbridge.

277. This is the 9th of April, 1502, a Saturday.

282. *lyghtes carè*, Query, Light's Cary, as implied by the rime. There is also a Castle Cary in the same county.

289. The 10th day of April fell on Sunday in 1502, and as this year was the 18th of Henry the Seventh, it is doubtless this year meant. In fact, this point admits of exact proof; for, owing to the year 1508 being a leap-year, the 10th of April did not again fall on Sunday till 1513, when "Henry our kyng," mentioned in l. 234, had ceased to exist.

295. St Mark's day; i. e. April 25, 1502, being Monday.

305. Milborne Port is near the border of Somersetshire, towards Dorsetshire.

313. There are several villages named Compton in Somersetshire, as Compton Bishop, near Axbridge; Compton Martin, several miles to the Eastward of Axbridge; Compton Dando, not very far from Bath; and Compton Dundon, to the S. of Glastonbury. Probably the last of these is here intended.

321. Pilton is on the road between Glastonbury and Shepton Mallet.

370. The story about St David is to the effect that the Saint came to Glastonbury to consecrate the church which had just been rebuilt there, when Our Saviour appeared to him and told him that it had already been consecrated by Himself; in sign whereof, He caused two holes to appear in the Saint's hands, which closed up again after mass had been said. See Hearne's edition of *Johannes Glastoniensis*, p. 2.

378. The miraculous walnut-tree is noticed by Camden; see Chambers' Book of Days, vol. ii. p. 759, and Hearne's History and Antiquities of Glastonbury. St Barnabas' day, June 11, was, before the change of style, the day of the summer solstice; possibly the budding of the tree was supposed to be influenced by the sun's position in the zodiac.

385. The story of the hawthorn-tree is also quoted by Chambers from Hearne. *Werrall* is a local abbreviation of *Weary-all-Hill*, on the south ridge of which the tree grew. The following account is too good to be passed over. "Concerning the alleged flowering of the tree on Christmas-day especially, there is a curious entry in the Gentleman's Magazine for January, 1753, when the public were under some embar-

rassment as to dates, owing to the change from the old style to the new.—‘Glastonbury.—A vast concourse of people attended the noted thorn on Christmas-day, new style; but, to their great disappointment, there was no appearance of its blowing, which made them watch it narrowly the 5th of January, the Christmas-day, old style, when it blowed as usual.’ Whether or not we credit the fact, that the tree *did* blossom precisely on the day in question, it is worthy of note that although the second trunk of the famous legendary tree had been cut down and removed a century before, some one particular tree was still regarded as the wonderful shrub in question, the perennial miracle.” Chambers, *Book of Days*, ii. 759. And this miracle happened less than a hundred and twenty years ago!

401. A PRAYSYNG TO JOSEPH. Every stanza ends with a similar line, forming a sort of burden. If the third and fourth stanzas be transposed, these final lines agree better together. The evident object of the prayer is expressed in l. 452.

P. 52. The office is printed as in Pynson; but it ought rather to be arranged in lines as under.

Joseph, serne dei	[Sancte?] Joseph,
omnipotentis	[Christi?] discipule,
miserere mei	da in futuris
malefactoris.	agenda facere,
Esto michi solamen	in non agendis
in suspiris,	vim hec resistere,
continuum inamen	in virtuosis
in molestiis.	vitam terminare,
Super id quod opto	denuo in celis
da remedium,	tecum habitare.
& tollatur eo	
quicquid dissonum.	

Versus. Sancte Ioseph, Christi discipule, &c.

Responsorium. Intercede pro nobis ad Iesum qui elegit te. *Oremus.*

Domine Iesu Christe, cui omnis lingua confitetur, respice in nos seruos tuos, et placare precibus tui dilecti discipuli Ioseph; vt, ipso intercedente, mereamur in presentia habere peccati remedium, et in futuro tue visionis dulcedinem. Qui vivis, &c.

Responsorium. Serne dei, Ioseph sanctissime,
preces nostras clementer accipe,
morbos, caedes, et pestes remoue.
Et si meremur iam penas lucre,
Christum regem superne glorie
non iratum, sed blandum effice.

Versus. Vt cum ceperit mundum discernere,
et in dextris oues reponere,
non ira[tum, sed blandum effice].

Oratio. Omnipotens, sempiterne Deus, &c.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX TO "JOSEPH OF ARAMATHIE."

ABBREVIATIONS, &c.

Dan. Danish.—Du. Dutch.—F. French.—G. German.—Icel. Icelandic.—Lat. Latin.—A.S. Anglo-Saxon.—Ch. Chaucer.—P. Pl. Piers Plowman.—All. P. Alliterative Poems (ed. Morris, E.E.T.S.).—Prompt. Parv. Promptorium Parvulorum (ed. Way, Camden Soc.).—Will. of P. William of Palerne (ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S.), *to which the reader is particularly referred*.

The following are used in a special sense—*v.* a verb in the infinitive mood; *pr. s.* present tense, 3rd person singular; *pr. pl.* present tense, 3rd person plural; *pt. s.* past tense, 3rd person singular; *pt. pl.* past tense, 3rd person plural. Other persons are denoted by 1 *p.* and 2 *p.* Also *imp.* is used for the imperative mood, 2nd person, and *pp.* for the past participle.

- A, in *phr.* wel a two hundred = about two hundred, 521; see also l. 549.
 A-bak, *adv.* backwards, 496. A.S. *on-bæc.*
 A-bascht, *pp.* abashed, terrified, 202. O.Fr. *esbahir.* See Pr. Parv. and Partenay.
 A-brod, *adv.* abroad, 501.
 A-byden him, *vb. rej.* remain, 701.
 A-doun, *adv.* down, 642. A.S. *of-dáne.* Havelok.
 A-dred, *pp.* afraid, 47. Hav.
 A-ferd, *pp.* afraid, 203, 412. Crede. See Ferd.
 Afurst, *adj.* athirst, very thirsty, 553. P. Pl.
 A-grisen, *pr. pl.* grow terrified, 236. Will. of Pal.

- Allynge, *adv.* completely, absolutely; hence, allynge to carpe = altogether (the right thing) to speak, quite (the thing) to speak, 440. A.S. *eallunga, eallinga, al-lunga,* entirely, absolutely, altogether.
 Also, as; also wel = as well, 113; also fresch as = as fresh as, 595.
 A-mende, *v.* to mend, repair (shoos), 423.
 A-middles, *prep.* amidst, in the middle of, 602. Ch.
 A-morwe, on the morrow, 34; cf. "In fe morwe," 26.
 An heiȝ, on high, 2;—vpon heiȝ, 503;—on heiȝ, 182.
 And, if, 48, 389; written &, 73; and we be = if we should be, 494.

- A-non, *adv.* anon, 628, 670. A.S. *on án*, in one; hence, immediately.
- A-noþur (*put for an oþur*), a second, 179; another, 378.
- An-oygnten, *v.* to anoint, 304. Miswritten *an-oygten* in the MS.
- A-pertliche, *adv.* evidently, plainly, 276. Ch.
- Ar, *conj.* ere, before, 122, 127.
- Armure, *sb.* armour, 563.
- A-series, *pr. s.* cries out to, shouts to, 530. Cf. Sw. *anskri*, an outcry, scream, cry; O.Fr. *escrier*, to call out. Will. of Pal. and Ch.
- A-semblent, *pp.* met in a hostile manner, encountered, 520. Will. of Pal.
- Asur, *sb.* azure, blue, 194.
- Atenes, *adv.* at once, 51;—at enes, 181. Cf. Enes.
- Atte, at the, 281, 705. Will. of P.
- A-two, *adv.* asunder, in twain, 103.
- A-twynne, *adv.* apart, asunder, in twain, 49. Ch.
- Auentures, *sb. pl.* adventures, 232.
- Auntres, *properly sb. pl.* adventures; *but probably miswritten for auntrous, adj.* adventurous, 320. Cf. *auntrose* in Will. of P.
- Auter, *sb.* an altar, 295.
- Auȝte, *pt. s.* possessed, 434. See Ouȝte.
- Ay, *adv.* ever; ay forth = ever after, 126.
- A-ȝein, *adv.* again (with the idea of recurrence), 12, 25; back again, 207; in return, 393.
- A-ȝein, *prep.* against, 106; him a-ȝeynes, to meet him, in the opposite direction to himself, 459;—a-ȝeines, 562. Will. of P.
- Bad, *pt. s.* begged, prayed, intreated, 637, 648. A.S. *biddan*, to ask.
- Bale, *sb.* death, destruction, 502. A.S. *bealu*.
- Bar, *pt. s.* bare, 152;—baar, 566;—beer, 502; *pl.* beeren, 453.
- Baronage, *sb.* nobility, nobles, 62. Havelok.
- Basin, *sb.* 697;—basyn, 286.
- Batayle, *sb.* a battalion, squadron, 527, 538; battle, 571.
- Bed, *pt. s.* dealt (lit. offered), 502. See Beode.
- Beden, *pp.* appointed, lit. bidden, 416. See Beode.
- Beer, *pt. s.* bare, 502; *pl.* beeren, 453. See Bar.
- Be-hynde, *adv.* in the rear, 30.
- Be-knownen, *v.* to confess, 665. [Unless it is two words, *be knownen* = be known.]
- Ben, *v.* to be, 248;—beo, 323, 388;—bi, 82; 2 *p. s. pr.* (*with fut. sense*) beost, shalt be, 308; *pr. s.* (*with fut. sense*) beos, will be, 216; 2 *p. pl. pr.* ben, 66; *pr. pl.* beon, 168;—ben, 140;—beþ, 409;—beoþ, 331;—aren, 672; *pr. s. subj.* beo, 388;—be, 469; *imp. s.* beo þou, 80; *pl.* beo ȝe, 245; *pp.* I-ben, 153;—I-beo, 469;—be, 626;—ben, 153; 2 *p. s. pt.* were, 428;—weore, 430; *pl. s. subj.* weore, 447; &c.
- Bente, *sb.* grassy plain, plain, 450, 489. G. *linse*, a rush.
- Beo, *prep.* by, 366.
- Beo, Beos, Beost. See Ben.
- Beode, *v.* to offer, 387; *pr. s.* biddes, bids, 22; *pt. s.* bad, bade, 31, 84, 637, 643;—bed, offered, dealt, 502; *pp.* beden, appointed, 416. A.S. *beodan*, to bid, offer.
- Bernes, *sb. pl.* men, 414. See Burnes.
- Bert, *sb.* beard, 648.
- Bi, *prep.* concerning, with regard to, 169.

- Bi, *v.* be, 82. See note. Cf. Ben.
 Bi-com, *pt. s.* had got to, had taken himself off, 607. So we hear people say, "one wonders where he is gone to." Cf. P. Plow. B. v. 651. Cf. G. *beikommen*, to reach to.
- Biddes, *pr. s.* bids, 22. See Beode.
- Bi-falle, *v.* to befall, 488.
- Bi-foren, *adv.* before, in front, 28; before (in point of time), 85, 118; *prep.* in front of, before, 167.
- Biggore, *adj.* *pl. comp.* stronger, 452.
- Bigly, *adv.* stoutly, boldly, 571. All. P.
- Bi-gonnen, *pt. pl.* began, 575. Or it may be the pp.
- Bi-halue, *sb.* behalf, 589; vpon my bi-halue = for my sake.
- Bi-heete, *v.* to promise, 67;—bi-hote, 621, 640. Hav.
- Bi-heolden, *pt. pl.* beheld, 686.
- Bi-leeue, *sb.* belief, 358.
- Bi-leued. *pp.* left behind. 616. Will. of P.
- Bi-reuen, *v.* to bereave, 356.
- Bi-sydes, *adv.* near at hand, hard by, 527.
- Bi-take, *v.* to commit to one's care, entrust, 253; to pledge (one's truth), 624; 1 *p. s.* *pr.* beo-take, 306; *pt. s.* bi-tauȝte, gave (it to), 661; *pt. pl.* bi-tauȝten, 708. Hav.
- Bi þat, by that time, 324; by the time that, 473.
- Bi-ȝenkes him, bethinks him, remembers, 237. Will. of P.
- Blencheden, *pt. pl.* looked with blinking eyes; blencheden a-boue = opened their eyes and looked up, 586.
- Bluseh, *sb.* look, glance, 657. All. P.
- Bok, *sb.* a book, 612.
- Bone, *sb.* command, 268;—boone, prayer, 227. All. P.
- Boone, *sb.* boon, prayer, 227. See Bone.
- Bord, *sb.* a table, viz. the sacramental table, 660.
- Boskes, *pr. s.* gets ready, prepares (letters), 414, 472; *pt. pl.* bosked hem out, came out, 13; *pp.* bosked, royally arrayed, 111;—I-bosket, 153;—bosket, arrayed, in order, 527. See Buskes.
- Bote, *conj.* except, 43, 141; *adv.* only, 338.
- Boȝem, *sb.* the bottom (of the pit or prison), 15.
- Boto, both two, both, 300. A.S. bútú, bátwá, both the two, from bá, both, twá, two. Cf. boþe tuo in l. 697; and P. Pl. A. ii. 36.
- Boun, *adj.* prepared, ready, 26, 461. Icel. *buinn*, prepared. All. P.
- Bounen, *v.* to make ready, array, 414;—boune, 472. Troy Book, 827.
- Bouwes, *pr. s.* bends or makes his way, 571;—bowes to, bends over, 387; *pr. pl.* bouwe, ineline, bend (their way), 489; *pres. part.* bouwynde, bowing, bending down, 294.
- Bradde, *pt. s.* made broad, i. e. spread open, 642.
- Braset, *pp.* lit. braced, i. e. tightly held, 380. See I-braeed.
- Breck, *pt. s.* brake, scattered, 501.
- Bren, *imp. s.* burn, 103.
- Brimme, *sb.* brim, edge, 458. A.S. brymme.
- Brusede, *pt. s.* bruised, 501.
- Burnes, *sb. pl.* men, 501, 708;—buirnes, 29;—berunes, 414. A.S. beorn.
- Buskes, *pr. s.* repairs, goes, 202, 233, 450; comes, 354. All. P. See Boskes.

- Byden, *pr. pl.* abide, are waiting, 450;—*bydes*, wait for, 468.
- Carke, *pr. pl.* are anxious, 30. A.S. *becarcan*, to take care concerning (Lye); A.S. *cerc*, *cearc*, care; mod. E. *cark*; cf. O.H.G. *karc*, *karch*, *charch*, clever (*perhaps originally solicitous*). See *Carking* in Atkinson's Cleveland Glossary. It occurs in the *Plowman's Tale*.
- Carpen, *v.* to speak, 175, 615;—*carpe*, 440; 1 *p. pr. pl.* we speak, 212. Will. of P.
- Casten, *v.* to confute, refute, 703; 2 *p. s. pr.* castest, 117. Lit. it means to throw, or overthrow; cf. Sw. *kasta*, Dan. *kaste*. See *Kest* in All. P.
- Chaumbre-wouh, *sb.* chamber-wall or wooden partition, 204.
- Cher, *sb.* countenance, 83. Ch.
- Child, *sb. used of a grown-up person*, viz. Jesus, 560.
- Childre, *sb. pl.* children, 493.
- Clanses, *pr. s.* cleanses, 198.
- Clepeþ, 2 *p. pl. pr.* ye call, name, 379;—*clepen* (*either inf. or pr. pl.*), 692. A.S. *cleopian*.
- Clergye, *sb.* learning, 171. P. Pl.
- Come, 2 *p. s. pt.* didst come, 434; *pt. s. com*, there came, 21; *pl. comen*, 91, 283;—*come*, 35; *pp. comen*, 622.
- Come, *sb.* coming, method of approach, 206; coming, advance, 596.
- Con, *pr. s.* he knows, 171; 1 *p. s. pr.* I can, 402; 2 *p. const.* caust, 401, 421. See Cunne.
- Coroune, *sb.* crown (viz. of thorns), 263.
- Cristendom, *sb.* Christianity, 632, 662.
- Cristene, *v.* to Christianize, 703.
- Crois, *sb.* a cross, 446.
- Cruetes, *sb. pl.* cruets, 287.
- Cuiþe, *v.* to make evident, shew, 484. See *Kiþen* in Will. of P.
- Culles, *pr. s.* strikes; culles on = strikes upon, hits a *killng* blow upon, 545.
- Cun, *sb. kin*, 422.
- Cunne, *pr. s. 1 p.* I know, 48;—*con*, 402; *pr. s. con*, 171; 2 *p. const* (canst), 401, 421.
- Cuþþe, *sb.* native country, 18;—*kuþþe*, country, kingdom, 434. A.S. *cýððe*, a region, native country. All. P.
- De-deyn, *sb.* disdain, 244. See *Dedain* in Will. of P.
- Defaute, *sb.* fault, 307.
- Demayzen, *v.* to fear, be dismayed, 31;—*demayen*, 84. Span. *desmayar*, to be dispirited. Cf. O.Fr. *esmaier*, to amaze. See *Demaye* in Halliwell.
- Deore, *adv.* dearly, 69.
- Dere, *adj.* noble, excellent, i. e. fertile, 37. Cf. “*þe dere kynge*,” “his *dere knyghtes*,” *Morte Arthure*, 1601, 1602.
- Derne, *adj.* secret, 576. Ch.
- Derue, *v.* to afflict, harm, 47; *pt. s. deruede*, vexed, 535. A.S. *deorfan*, to toil; O.Fries. *forderva*, to perish; G. *verderben*, act. to spoil, neut. to perish.
- Dep, *sb.* death (with *þe* prefixed), 514, 534.
- Digne, *adj.* worthy, 252. Ch.
- Discounfitede (*read discounfited*), *pp.* discomfited, 61.
- Diskeueret, *pp.* disclosed, 350. It means that Evelak had disclosed the marvels which he saw to his chamberlain. Hem = them, sc. the marvels.
- Despit, *sb.* despite, harm, injury, 581. See *Despit*, Will. of P.
- Dizén, *v.* to die, 495; dye, 390; *pt. s. diȝede*, 132, 134.

- Dizt, *pp.* dressed, prepared, ready, 34. Cf. I-diht. Ch.
- Don, *v.* to do, 26;—done, *in phr.* haue to done = have to be busy, 161;—do [he] to preue, cause [thee] to experience, 389;—do in, put in, 40; *pr. s.* dos, 233; causes, 252; *pl.* don hem to zonge, set out to go, 34; *pt. s.* dude, 90; caused, 129; 1 *p.* *pl.* *pts.* duoden, did, 659; *imp. s.* do awel, put away, 102; do me, give to me, 623; do tel me, 391; *pp.* do, 524.
- Dorste, 1 *p. s. pt.* I durst, 664.
- Douhightlyche, *adv.* doughtily, bravely, 495.
- Douzti, *adj.* doughty, 480. Will. of P.
- Dredde, *pt. s.* dreaded, 132.
- Duntes, *sb.* *pl.* dints, blows, 598. See Dint, Will. of P.
- Duppes, *pr. s.* dips, dives, drops, 534.
- Eft, *adv.* again, 359.
- Eir, *sb.* heir, 19.
- Eijper, each (of them), 286.
- Eizen, *sb.* *pl.* eyes, 362.
- Eke, *adv.* also, 22, 160.
- Elles, *adv.* otherwise, in another way, 119, 256.
- Enes, *adv.* once, 25; at enes = at once, 181, 517.
- Enkes, *sb.* *pl.* inks, colours, 194. Fr. *encre*. See Wyclifite Glossary.
- Er, *conj.* ere, before, 524. See Ar.
- Eodest, *pt. s.* wentest, 4, 641; *pt. pl.* eoden, 326.
- Eornen, *pr. pl.* they run, flow; eornen of blod = they drip with blood, 275. A.S. *yrnan*, to run. Cf. Renne.
- Er, *adv.* formerly, once, at first, 242. See Ar and Erest.
- Erest, *adv.* erst, first, 56. A.S. *áerest*, from *áer*. See Ar.
- Est, *sb.* the east, 91.
- Euel, *sb.* disease, 644.
- Euel, *adj.* hard, difficult, 667.
- Falle, *r.* to happen, befall, 190; hit falles not = it is not possible, 598. Will. of P.
- Fallen, *v. tr.* to fell, 558; *pt. s.* fel, struck, 569; *pt. pl.* fullen to = felled upon, struck violent blows on, 539.
- Fare, *v.* to go, 63; fare to hem = go to meet them, i.e. the enemy; —fareni, 506; *pt. s.* ferde, fared, went, 28, 557; *pl.* ferden, 53, 368; contrived to do (with little), 626; azeyn ferden, returned, 558; *pt. s.* ferede, should prove to be, 413. A.S. *faran*. Will. of P.
- Faste, *alv.* close, 522, 635. So in Will. of Palerne, 3.
- Fastenen, *v.* to fasten, 249; *pp.* fastned, 626.
- Faus, *sb.* either (1) haste (the modern *fuss*), or (2) falseness, deceit, 208. The alliteration renders it probable that the latter is right, and that it merely repeats *faute* under another form. Roquefort gives *faucer*, to deceive, *faus*, false, and the mod. Fr. *faux* is a *sb.* as well as an *adj.*
- Faute, *sb.* fault, defect (in the wall), 208.
- Fayn, *adv.* gladly, 179. Will. of P.
- Faynede, *pt.* *pl.* gladdened, flattered, 243. A.S. *fægenian*, to rejoice.
- Feire, *adv.* fairly, suitably, 564.
- Fel. See Fallen.
- Fel, *pt. s.* fell, 582.
- Felauschipe, *sb.* intercourse, 84; —felauschupe, a company, set of companions, 165.
- Felde, *pt. s.* fell, 203. Hence possibly, in l. 2698 of Havelok, we may read *ne felden*, did not fall, instead of “did not fell.”

- Felle, *v.* to fell, 368. Hav.
- Feol, *adj.* fell, fierce (?), 665. An unusual spelling.
- Feole, *adj. pl.* many, 18, 90, 100, 147.
- Feor, *adv.* far, very much, greatly, 552; bi fer = by far, 592.
- Ferd, *sb.* fear, 188. *See* Fert.
- Ferd, *pp.* afraid, 189.
- Ferde, *sb.* a host, army, company, 12. A.S. *ferd, syrd*.
- Ferde, Ferden. *See* Fare.
- Ferede, *pt. s. subj.* fared, i. e. should turn out to be, 413. *See* Fare.
- Feres, prob. an error for *beres* = bears, 189; for this seems to suit the alliteration better. Yet *feres* may be from the A.S. *ferian*, to convey, carry; whence our *ferry*. See *ferien* in Stratmann.
- Ferli, *adv.* wonderfully, 154.
- Ferli, *sb.* wonder, marvel, 210. Will. of P.
- Ferly, *adj.* wonderful, 568.
- Fert, *sb.* fear, 18;—ferd, 188.
- Fette, *v.* to fetch; lette fette = caused to be fetched, 167; *pl. s.* fette, 12, 147. Ch.
- Feye, *adj.* dead, 558;—feize, 569; *pl.* feye, 368. A.S. *feige*, Icel. *feigr*.
- Fleih, *pt. s.* flew, fled, 98;—fleyȝ, 385; *pl.* flowen (fled), 18; (flew), 362.
- Flote, *sb.* a troop, company, 28. O.Fr. *flote*, a troop; Low Lat. *flota*, a fleet of ships; from *fluctus*.
- Flowen. *See* Fleih.
- Fluiȝt, *sb.* flight, 506.
- Folewede, *pt. pl.* followed, 28; *imp. pl.* foleweþ, 215; *pres. part.* folowynde, 551; *pp.* folewed, 569.
- Folfulle, *v.* to fultil, 68.
- Folfulsened, *pp.* fully accom-
- plished, 618. From *fol* = full, and *fulsen* = *fulsten*, A.S. *fylstan*, to aid, support, the stem of which agrees with the O.H.G. *follest* or *volleist*, completion; from the root of *full*. It is thus a strengthened form of to *fulfil*.
- Folwed, Folewede, Folewen. *See* Fulwed.
- Fond, *pt. s.* found, 242, 462.
- Fondes, Fondet. *See* Founde.
- Fonge, *v.* to apprehend, attain to, 371;—fongen, to receive, 622; *pr. s.* fonges, takes, 52; draws, 568; *pt. s.* fongede, took, 143. All. P.
- Fontston, *sb.* a font-stone, a font, 7. *See* Hampole, *Pr. of Consc.* 3311. Ch.
- Foorme, *sb.* form, 561.
- Foote, *sb. pl.* feet (in measurement), as we now sometimes say “a hundred foot,” 14.
- For, *conj.* because, 428, 438.
- For, *prep.* as regards; for him = as regards thy child, 85.
- Fore, *adv.* forth, 110. Fore telle = tell forth, declare; cf. Life of Becket, ed. W. H. Black, 31. Fore seiden = said beforehand or declared, 20S.
- For-fouȝten, *pp.* exhausted with fighting, 577. Will. of P.
- For-let, *pp. either* abandoned, forsaken; so that for-let of heore oune = forsaken by their own people; or else deprived, i. e. of their own land. The latter makes the better sense, but lacks authority. *Forlote* (= forsaken) occurs in Alexander, l. 679 (printed in the appendix to William of Palerne), and in the Wyclifite Glossary.
- Forme, *adj.* first, 685. Mæso-Goth. *fruma*, first.
- Forsake, *v.* to deny; *pp.* forsaken, refused, 61. *See* P. Plowman, B. v. 431.

- For-set, *pp.* set aside, snubbed, 487. Cf. A.S. *forsittan*, to neglect.
- Forsoþe, *written for* for soþe, i. e. for the truth, in truth, 3, 86, 99; cf. l. 523.
- Forte, *put for* for to, 15, 40, 116, 199, 703.
- Forþ wiþ, right against, over against, 267.
- Forþi, *conj.* on that account, 439, 465. *But in l. 603 it seems to mean* on what account, wherefore, why.
- Forþinkes, *pr. s. impers.* it repents me, 487. Will. of P.
- Forþward, *adv.* forward, 53. Will. of P.
- Forȝiue, 1 *p. s. pr.* I forgive, 250; 2 *p. s. pt.* forȝaf, didst forgive, 223.
- Founde, *v.* to go towards, approach (*with dat.*), 367;—founden, to go, 506; *pr. s.* fondes, goes, 537; *pt. s.* fonda, eame, 12; *pl.* foundeden, went forward, advanced, 596. In a slightly different sense, *pt. s.* fonda, tried, proved, 505. See *Fonden*, Will. of P.
- Foundor, *sb.* founder, Maker, Creator, 68, 673. O.F. *fondeur*, a creator.
- Frusschede, *pt. pl.* bruised, dashed in pieces, 505. Fr. *froisser*.
- Fuir, *sb.* fire, 260.
- Fullen, *pt. s.* fell; fullen to = fell upon, 539. The spelling *fullen* occurs in the Castle of Love, ed. Weymouth.
- Fullouȝt, *sb.* baptism, 682;—fullouht, 693. A.S. *fullaht*.
- Fulwede, *pt. s.* baptized, 683;—folwed, 691;—folewede, 10;—folwede, 694; *pp.* fulwed, 699; *pr. pl.* folewen, 8. A.S. *fulwian*.
- Gete, *v.* to beget, 230; to get, obtain, 23; *pp.* gotten, *in phr.* gotten on hem = approached to-wards them, i. e. they were within a glaive's length of them, 497; attained, reached, 523.
- Geyn, *adj.* suitable, 299. In N.E. *gain* is near, direct, handy, convenient; O.Swed. *gen*, direct; Icel. *gegn*, direct, ready, from Icel. prep. *gegn*, over against, cf. G. *gegen*, against; Sw. *gen*, near.
- Geynliche, *adv.* suitably, conveniently, 298.
- Gleyue, *sb.* a glaive, falchion, curved sword, 497. W. *glaif*, a crooked sword.
- God, *adj.* good, 66. See Greiþe.
- Gome, *sb.* a man, 531. Will. of P.
- Gon, *v.* to go, 24, 82; *pr. pl.* gon, 702; *imp. pl.* gos, 373.
- Gost, *sb.* spirit, 49, 315. Ch.
- Gostliche, *adv.* spiritually, 122, 135; *adj.* spiritual, 280.
- Grame, *sb.* anger, vexation, 539. Ch.
- Greiþe, *v.* to array, 299. Icel. *greiða*. Will. of P.
- Greiþe, *sb.* preparation, arrangement; god greiþe = good arrangement, i.e. satisfactory, 66; bi god greiþe = satisfactorily, admittedly, 341. Icel. *greiði*.
- Greiþli, *adj.* excellent, 88. Very rare as an adj.
- Gretnede, *pt. s.* became great (with child), 88.
- Gultus, *sb. pl.* guilts, sins, 249.
- Ha. See Haue.
- Hache, *sb.* axe, 503, 544, 587. Cf. Pol-haehe.
- Hakken, *pr. pl.* haek, cut, 512.
- Halp, 1 *p. s. pt.* helped, 484; *pt. s.* 675.
- Halse, 1 *p. s. pr.* I entreat, conjure, 400. Ch.
- Halt, *pp.* held, esteemed, 122.

- Halue, *sb.* a helve, haft (of an axe), 503. A.S. *helf, hielſt*.
- Halue, *sb.* side (lit. half), 549. Ch.
- Haly, *adj.* holy, 288, 314.
- Haspet, *pp.* fastened with a hasp, 205. A.S. *haespian*.
- Hauberkes, *sb. pl.* hauberks, 509. Ch.
- Haunsen, *v.* to enhance, exalt, increase, 225, 232. "Hawncyn, or heynyn, hawtyn, hawsyn or yn heynyn, hawten or heithyn vp, *Exalto, elero, sublevo*." Prompt. Parv. Halliwell quotes *Hause*, to exalt, from the Coventry Mysteries. The French romance has the word *essauochier* thrice, in this passage; see *Hiȝen*.
- Haue, *v.* 63;—ha, 351, 578;—han, 524; 1 *p. s. pr.* haue, 141; 2 *p.* hast, 350; 3 *p.* has, 405; 2 *p. pl.* han, 247; 3 *p.* han, 61, 469; *pt. s.* hedde, 503; *pt. pl.* hedden, 244;—hadden, 474;—haden, 676; *imp. s.* haue (*hou*), 210, 589; *pt. s. subj.* hedde, would have, 153.
- He, *pron. fem.* she, 83;—heo, 87. A.S. *heo*.
- Hedde, Hedden. See Haue.
- Heiȝ, *adj.* high, 153; exalted, mysterious, 159;—heiȝe, 698; *superl.* heiȝeste, 254. Vpon heiȝ, on high, 503.
- Heiȝþe, *sb.* height, 192. Cf. *Heȝþe* in All. P.
- Hele, *sb.* health, prosperity, success, 617; recovery from sickness or disease, 372, 634, 637. All. P.
- Helede, *pt. s. intr.* healed, became whole, 681. Will. of P.
- Hem, them, 31; *dat.* heom, 367.
- Henne, *adv.* hence, 215, 641. Ch.
- Hente, *pt. s.* caught hold of, seized, 382; hente vp, caught up, caught and lifted, 532. Ch.
- Heo, (1) she, 87, 461; (2) he, 97; (3) they, 283; *dat. pl.* heom, 130.
- Heold, *pt. s.* held, 134, 360, 591; heold ȝider, went thither, 113;—huld, 504; *pl.* heolden, considered, 430; *pp.* holden, considered as, 95, 254;—halt, 122; *imp. pl.* holdes ou, keep yourselves, 492. See Huld.
- Heom. See Heo and Hem.
- Heore, their (*lit.* of them), 18, 20, 101;—here, 30.
- Heowen, *pr. pl.* hew, 511.
- Herbarwe, *sb.* harbour, lodging, accommodation, 30;—herborwe, 32. Ch.
- Here, *v.* to hear, 45;—heere, 109; *pt. s.* herde, 31; *pt. pl.* herden, 2.
- Herre, *adj. comp.* higher, 430. A.S. *hyrra*.
- Hete, I *p. s. pr.* I promise, declare, 412, 669. Ch.
- Hettestou (*for hetteſt þou*), 2 *p. pr. s.* art thou called, 155. Ch.
- Heuior, *adj. or adv.* heavier, 592.
- Him, *in dative case*, to him, 21.
- Hise, *pl. possess. pr.* his, 24.
- Hit, *neut. pron.* it, 440.
- Hiȝe, *v.* to go quickly, *in phr.* he let water hiȝe, he caused water to go about quickly, 698. *Hiȝe* is sometimes used in the sense of "to cause to hasten," as in Will. of P. 1482, and this seems to be the construction here—"he caused water to fly about."
- Hiȝen, *v.* to exalt, 226; *pt. s. 2 p.* heiȝtest, didst exalt, 225. Here the idea of *exaltation* is *thrice* repeated in the words *heiȝtest, haunſen, hiȝen*. So also in the French—"pour ton non *essauchier* et aleuer . . . ear tu le dois *essauchier* et *aeroistre* . . . ke cle [*l'eglise*] soit *essauchie* et *aerue*," &c. Seynt Graal, p. 64. *Hiȝen* should rather be spelt *Heiȝen*.

- Hiȝtest, *pt. s.* 2 *p.* didst promise, 109. Cf. Hete; see Will. of P.
- Ho, *pron. inter.* who, 466, 674.
- Holden, *pp.* reckoned, held (to be), 95, 254; *imp. pl.* 2 *p.* holdes ou, hold yourselves, keep yourselves, 492. See Heold.
- Hole, *adj. pl.* whole; þreо hole = whole three, 340; —hol, *sing.* 681. Will. of P.
- Holliche, *adv.* wholly, 51, 86, 134, 456.
- Holt, *sb.* hold, citadel, 410.
- Hom, *sb.* home, 602; hom wende = to go home, 609.
- Honden, *sb. pl.* hands, 272; —hondes, 300, 697.
- Hondred, hundred, 476.
- Honginge, *pres. part.* hanging, 205.
- Hor, *adj.* hoar, hoary, 648.
- Hors, *sb.* a horse, 563.
- Horses, *pr. s.* sets upon a horse, 570.
- Hoten, *pp.* called, named, 79, 82, 231; —I-hoten, 291.
- Houen, *pr. pl.* halt, hover about, 489, 511. All. P.
- Hudden hem, *pt. pl.* hid themselves, 13.
- Huirne, *sb.* corner, nook, 378; *pl.* huirnes, corners, nooks, hiding-places, 13. Cf. Hirne in Ch.
- Huld, *pt. s.* held, 504; *pt. pl.* hulden (hem), defended (themselves), 512, where the context would rather require the present tense. Cf. Heold. A.S. healdan; cf. *halla* in Ihre's Glossary.
- Huppe, *v.* to hop, leap, leap down, 14.
- Huttes, *pr. s.* hits, 532.
- I-ben, *pp.* been, 153; —ben, 153.
- I-blesset, *pp.* blessed, 240.
- I-boren, *pp.* born, 89; —i-bore, 119; —boren, 168, 430.
- I-bosket, *pp.* well arrayed, finely dressed, 153. See Boskes.
- I-braced, *pp.* tightly fastened, 265. See Brasct.
- I-called, *pp.* called, named, 78, 479; —called, 156.
- Icholde, *put for* ich wolde, I would, 67.
- Ichul, *put for* ich wol, I will, 253.
- I-cloped, *pp.* clothed, draped, 295.
- I-come, *pp.* come, 403.
- I-dliht, *pp.* arrayed, 476.
- I-fet, *pp.* fetched, brought, 428.
- I-folwed, *pp.* baptized, 7. See Fulwede.
- I-graunted, *pp.* granted, 280.
- I-helet, *pp.* healed, 650.
- I-hoten, *pp.* named, called, 291.
- Ilke, *adj.* same, very; þis Ilke, 6, 279, 353; þat Ilke, 40, 282; wiþ þat Ilke, forthwith, 565, 573.
- In, *sb.* lodging, 163.
- Inne, *v.* to lodge, 166; *pr. s. act.* imes, provides with lodgings, 174.
- Inne, *adv.* in, within, 221. Ch.
- Ioyned, *pp.* lit. enjoined; hence, reproved, 308. See Halliwell, and cf. *ioyned* = appointed in Allit. Poems, ed. Morris, B. S77.
- Ioynes, *pr. s.* approaches (lit. joins), 407.
- I-seo, *v.* to see, 498.
- I-seȝe, *pp.* seen, 349.
- I-slawe, *pp.* slain, 96.
- I-straȝt, *pp.* stretched, 269.
- I-swowen, *pp.* thrown into a swoon, 203.
- I-tornd, *pp.* converted, 216.
- Iugget, *pp.* judged (to be), considered, 251.

- I-worpe, *pp.* cast, thrown, 221.
See Warpes.
- I-written, *pp.* written, 317.
- Kenne, *v.* to make known, teach, 158;—kennen, to inform, 187 (where *him* must be understood);—kennes, *pr. s.* makes known, teaches, 198; instructs, bids, 446; *pp.* kenned, informed, told, 466. Will. of P.
- Keuered, *pp.* covered, 176; *pt. s.* keuerde, 263.
- Keueren, *pr. pl.* achieve; *hence*, keueren on = achieve their onward way, go forward, 27. See *William of Palerne* and *Garwayne and the Grene Knyȝt*. Similarly, keueres ῥpon = advancees, 406.
- Kuþþe, *sb.* kingdom, country, 434. *See Cuþþe.*
- Kuynde, *sb.* nature, 106, 131, 133; *pl.* kuyndes, 136. þe kuynde = those allied by nature, those that are akin by birth, 488.
- Laeche, *v.* to catch, get hold of, take prisoner, 356; *pt. s.* lauȝte, took, received, 222. Will. of P.
- Ladden, *pt. pl.* led, 16. Will. of P.
- Laft, *pp.* (*of trans. vb.*) left, 540. *See Leuen.*
- Lastest, 2 *p. s.* *pt.* didst remain, 435; *pt. s.* lafȝte, remained, 518; *transitive*, lafȝte, left, 707. Will. of P.
- Lai, Leȝen. *See Liggest.*
- Lat, *aȝj.* slow (lit. late), 695. Mordreyns is supposed to mean “slow of belief.” All. P.
- Lauhwhlen, *pr. pl.* laugh, 2.
- Lauȝte, *pt. s.* took, received, 222. *See Laeche.*
- Lees, *pt. s.* lost, 125. Cf. P. Pl. B. vii. 158.
- Leeue, *v.* to believe, 105, 640;—leeuen, 219;—leue, 646; *pt. pl.* leeueden, 101; *imp. s.* leue, 99.
- Lemedē, *pt. s.* gleamed, glittered, 264;—leomedē, 687. Ch. has the *sb.*
- Lenden, *v.* to arrive, come, 81; *pr. s.* lendede æzin = arrives back again, i. e. retires, departs, 207; *pr. pl.* lenden of, go out of, depart from, 709. Cf. A.S. *lendian*, to land.
- Lenes, *pr. s.* lends, gives, imparts, 590; *pt. s.* lente me of = imparted to me some of, 5. Ch.
- Lenge, *v.* to remain, dwell, stay, 162, 603; *pr. s.* lenges, lingers, 207; 2 *p.* lengest, lingerest, 277; 2 *p. s.* *pt.* lengedest, 429; *pt. pl.* lengede, 16, 17; *pres. part.* lenginde, 20; *pp.* (wast) lenged, didst dwell, 425. Will. of P.
- Lengore, *adv.* longer, 137.
- Leodes, *sb. pl.* people, folks, men, 168, 585. *See Lud*, Will. of P.
- Leomede. *See Lemede.*
- Leones, *sb. pl.* lions, 222.
- Leoue, *adj. pl.* dear, 240.
- Leres, *pr. s.* teaches, 305. Will. of P.
- Lette, *pt. s.* caused, 94, 167, 173; *where* lette fette = caused to be fetched, lette lede = caused to be led;—let hīȝe (*see Hīȝe*), 698. See *Leten*, Will. of P.
- Leue, *v.* to believe, 646. *See Leeue.*
- Leuen, *pr. pl.* leave, 709; *pt. s.* lafȝte, left, 707; *pp.* laft, 540.
- Leyk, *sb.* play, game, 17. Sw. *lek*.
- Leyser, *sb.* leisure, 164. *Ch.*
- Lide, *sb.* lid, 41, 257. A.S. *hlid*.
- Liggest, 2 *p. s.* *pr.* liest, 278; *pt. s.* lai, 176;—lay, 266; *pl.* leȝen, 418. Ch.
- Lilite, *v.* to alight, 81; *pr. s.* lihites, 584; *pt. s.* lihte, alighted, 116, 145. A.S. *lihtan*.
- Lihiten, *pr. pl.* kindle, 191.
- Lihtned, *pp.* relieved, 644.

- Liked, *pt. s. impers.* it pleased (with *hem* understood); luyte liked his leyk, his game pleased them little, 17. Will. of P.
- Limes, *sb. pl.* limbs, 151. Ch.
- Limpe, *v.* to happen, turn out, 213; *pr. s. subj.* lymp [MS. *lyme*], may happen, 370. A.S. *limpan*; see *Lymp*, All. P.
- Liueraunce, *sb.* free provision, 163. From Low Lat. *liberare*, to give, bestow.
- Liuere, *v.* to deliver, 707. Halliwell.
- Lokynde, *pres. part.* looking, 278.
- Loueliche, *adv.* gladly, 281; kindly, 305. A.S. *lufelice*, lovingly, willingly, gladly; Bosworth.
- Louses, *pr. s.* looses, sets free, causes to flow (with a preceding *þat* understood), 273; *pl. s.* lousede, let go, 599; *imp. s.* louse, loose thou, open, 49.
- Lufte, *sb.* air, sky, 385. Lazamon.
- Lust, *pr. s. impers.* it pleases, 41.
- Lustnynge, *sb.* listening, attention, 164.
- Luttulde, *pt. s.* became small, diminished, lessened, 145.
- Luyte, *adv.* little, in a small degree, 17;—luite, 148;—mneh ne luyte, much nor little, 481.
- Luyte, *adj.* little, 554; *pl.* few, 506;—luytel, 39, 644.
- Lymp. See Limpe.
- Lynde, *sb.* the linden or lime tree, 555. A.S. *lind*, *linde*. Cf. Chauuer, Rom. Rose, 1385; Clerkes Tale, Lenvoye, 35; and F. Plowman, B. i. 154.
- Lyue, *sb.* life; on lyue = in life, alive, 707.
- Mallen, *pr. pl.* beat, 508. Cf. Lat. *malleus*, E. *mallet*.
- Manas, *sb.* a threat, threatening,
46. O.F. *manace*, Lat. *minatio*. See Melen.
- Maumetes, *sb. pl.* idols, 102, 373. Ch.
- Maystrie, *sb.* mastery, might, 398. Ch.
- Medlen, *v.* to mingle, 507; *stoures to medlen* means “battles to be engaged in.” See Struien.
- Meeten, *pr. pl.* meet, 508.
- Melen, *pr. pl.* speak; melen of manas = speak in a threatening manner, 46; 2 *p. s.* melest, 106; *pt. pl.* meleden, 130. Will. of P.
- Mene, 2 *p. pl.* *pr. ye* say, speak, 379; *pr. s.* menes, speaks, 403. A.S. *mænan*. All. P.
- Mensked, *pp.* worshipped, honoured, 146. All. P. and Will. of P.
- Messager, *sb.* messenger, 324, 403. Ch.
- Mette, *pt. s.* dreamed, 442. Ch.
- Mijful, *adj.* mighty, 508.
- Mooder, *sb.* mother, 98.
- Morwe, *sb.* morning, 26, 473. Ch.
- Moste, *adj. superl.* most, i. e. greatest, 375.
- Mot, *pr. s.* must, shall, 701; *pl.* mote, 166; moten, 603; 2 *p. s.* most, 230.
- Mowe, *pr. pl.* may, 602; *pt. pl.* mouȝten, might, 23.
- Murili, *adv.* lit. merrily; hence, happily, joyfully, 255, 661.
- Myle, *sb. pl.* miles, 417, 418.
- Nare (*put for ne are*), are not, 338, 342.
- Nas (*for ne was*), was not, 126, 146, 593.
- Ne, *conj.* nor, 593.
- Nedde (*for ne hedde*), had not, 118; *pl.* nedden, 247. Cf. Hedde.
- Nede, *adv.* of necessity, 230. (We generally find the form *nedes*.)

- Neodes, *pr. s. impers.* is needful (for thee), 163.
- Newed, *pp.* renewed, 588.
- Nis, is not ; nis not (= ne is not, a double negative), 66; nis (*singly*), 449.
- Niȝt, (*used as a pl.*) nights, 6.
- Nome, *sb.* name, 10, 78, 156, 684, 694.
- Nomelich, *adv.* namely, 670.
- Nomen, *pp.* taken, 405. Ch.
- No-skunus (*for nos kunus =* nones kunnes), of no kind; for nos-kunus þinge = for a thing of no kind, i. e. on no account, 219. See the note.
- Not (*for ne wot*), know not, 467. Cf. Nuste and Wite.
- Note, *v.* to use, make good use of, 588. A.S. *notian*. “Notun or vsyn. Utor.” Prompt. Parv.
- Nouþer, *adv.* not where, not whither; nouþer þei musten, (not) whither they knew not, 702.
- Nouwe, *adv.* now, 1;—nou, 29.
- Nouȝt, *sb.* nothing, i. e. of no value, of no avail, 379.
- Nouȝwhere, *adv.* nowhere, 328, 357.
- Nul (*for ne wol*), I will not, 249.
- Nuste (*for ne wuste*), *pt. pl.* knew not, 129, 199, 608;—nusten, 702. See Wuste.
- O, one, one and the same, 146, 182;—on, 200.
- Of, *prep.* away from, out of, 385; with a partitive sense, some of, 404; for, 561.
- Of-fouȝten, *pp.* wearied out with fighting, 552. Cf. For-fouȝten.
- Of-scuteder, *pp.* frightened out of one's wits, 71. Cf. E. *shudder*, G. *schaudern*: we have, in this poem, fert for ferd, wynt for wynd, and bert for berd; so here, of-scuteder seems to be for of-schudered. But there seems to be no other instance of the word.
- On, *adj.* one, 178; þat on = the one, 183, 261;—on = one and the same, 200;—on þe hizeste þing, a thing which is the most mysterious, 254.
- On, *prep.*; stremyngē on = stream-ing with, 560.
- Onswere, *v.* to answer, 377; *pr. s.* onsweres, 393, 467; *pt. s.* onswerde, 674.
- Or, your, 65. So in P. Pl. A.
- Oper, *conj.* or, 201.
- Oper, *adj.* second; þat oþer = the second, 262;—þe oþur, 271;—þat oþer = the other, 396.
- Ou. See Ow.
- Ouer-charged, *pp.* oppressed, 552.
- Oune, *adj.* own; on or oune = in our own (land), i. e. while it is still ours; or in our own (way); or perhaps, on behalf of our own, or alone, 495. The precise meaning seems uncertain.
- Oure, your, 245, 373, 493. So in P. Pl. A.
- Out, *sb.* aught, any whit, anything, 171, 369, 651; at all, in any way, 370;—ouȝt, 488.
- Ouþer, *adj.* either, 184.
- Out-wiþ, *adv.* without, on the outer side, outwardly, 186. Cf. Jamieson's Sc. Diet.
- Ouȝt, *sb.* aught, 488. See Out.
- Ouȝte, *pt. s.* possessed, 36, 425; —auȝte, 431; 2 *p.* euele ouȝtest, ill oughtest, i. e. oughtest not (to have done), 486. See Out, Will. of P.
- Ow, you, *acc. of ȝe*, 67, 250; *dat.* ou, 73, 460; *acc. ou*, 461. So in P. Pl. A.
- Oygнемens, *sb. pl.* ointments, 303.

- Pallede, *pt. s.* he thrust down, knocked over, 499. P. Pl. B. xvi. 30, 51.
- Parti, *sb.* a part, 45. Ch.
- Payet, *pp.* pleased, satisfied, appeased, 350. Ch.
- Pertly, *adv.* openly, clearly, 141. Will. of P.
- Pleye him, *v. reflex.* to amuse himself, 458.
- Pol-hache, *sb.* pole-axe, 499. Cf. Hache.
- Pors, *sb.* lit. a purse; a bag in which offerings for the idols were kept, 387.
- Prest, *adv.* quickly, 459. Cf. *Prestly*, Will. of P.
- Preue, *v.* to prove, experience, 389; *pt. s.* preude, proved, tested the strength of, 500. Ch.
- Prikyng, *pres. part.* pricking, spurring, 459. Will. of P.
- Proues, *imp. pl.* essay ye, test ye, 373. Cf. Preue.
- Put, *sb.* pit, underground prison, 4, 221. A.S. *pytt*.
- Rad, *adv.* quickly, 565;—radly, 629. Cf. *redeli* in l. 630. See *Redeli*, Will. of P.
- Radde, *pt. s.* read, 643.
- Red, *sb.* counsel, 63, 491. A.S. *redl.*
- Redi, *adj.* ready, convenient, 444.
- Renne, *v.* to run, flow, 274. Ch.
- Reowen, *pr. pl. sylj.* they may rue, 491. Ch.
- Res, *sb.* attack, 491. A.S. *rese, ræs*, violence, attack.
- Reson, *sb.* story, relation, matter, 76; reason, 138.
- Rewes, *pr. s.* pities, 154; *pr. pl. sylj.* reowen, may rue, 491.
- Riehe, *sb.* kingdom, 307. Will. of P.
- Rihtes, *pr. s.* arrays, sets in right order, 451, 490.
- Rikenen, *v.* to rehearse, 76; *2 p. s. pr.* rikenest, relatest, 138; *pt. s.* rikenede, rehearsed, said over (the Creed), 629.
- Rikenyng, *sb.* explanation, 444.
- Roche, *sb.* a rock, 522, 604. Ch.
- Roises, *pr. s.* raises, 234. (Probably miswritten for *reises*.)
- Ronkes, *sb. pl.* ranks, rows, 599.
- Roode, *sb.* the cross, 258, 269. Ch.
- Roume, *sb.* space, leisure (lit. room), 444. Ch.
- Roumede, *pt. s.* made roomy, made void, 597.
- Roungede, *pt. s.* champed, gnashed with his teeth, 361. Fr. *rounger*, to gnaw. “*Rouge*, to bite, gnaw. *West.*” Halliwell.
- Sacren, *v.* to consecrate, 302; *pt. s.* sacrede, 300.
- Sad, *adj.* settled, firmly fixed, 258. Will. of P.
- Same, *adv.* together, 120. Will. of P.
- Sarrest, *adj.* sorest, 620.
- Sauh. See Seo.
- Sauor, *sb.* a savour, seent, 658.
- Sawes, *sb. pl.* sayings, predictions, 618. Ch.
- Say3. See Seo.
- Seapet, *pp.* scathed, injured, 61.
- Schaft, *sb.* shaft (of a weapon), 510.
- Schial, *pr. s.* (who) shall, 82; *2 p. schaltou* (*før schalt pou*), 104; *pl. schul*, mu t they, 45; *1 p. s. pt. scholde*, i. e. can, 83; *pt. s. scholde*, 107; = would, might, 637; = must, 463; *2 p. scholdest*, 641.
- Schalkene, *gen. pl.* of men, of warriors, 510. A.S. *secale*. All. P.

- Scharpe, *adj. pl. used as a sb.*, sharp things, i. e. swords or weapons, 513.
- Scheld, *sb. shield*, 445, 559, 680; *pl. scheldes*, 508, 516. Ch.
- Schendschupe, *sb. disgrace*, 496. Ch.
- Schene, *adj. or adv. bright or brightly*, 510.
- Scheuz, *imp. s. shew*, 587.
- Schindringe, *sb. a cutting, hacking*, 513; schindringe of scharpe = the cutting of sharp (swords). Cf. G. *schinderei*, a flaying; G. and D. *schinden*, to flay.
- Schou, *sb. pl. shoon, shoes*, 423. Ch.
- Schon, *pt. s. shone, gleamed*, 510. Ch.
- Schone, *v. to shun, draw aside, refuse battle*, 496.
- Seche, *v. to seek, 15; to go, make (his) way, 528; hemme seche = depart hence, 655*. Will. of P.
- Seemede, *pt. s. (impers.) was seemly, was fitting, 115;—seemed, suited, became, 564; (pers.) semede, appeared, 183*.
- Sege, *sb. a seat*, 292. F. *siege*.
- Seih, Seiz, Seizen. See Seo.
- Seize, *v. to say, 142, 631;—seyn, 70;—sei, 157;—seie, 161;—seye, 199;—sigge, 200; 1 p. s. pr. seize, 309; 2 p. seist, 120;—siggest, 352; 3 p. seis, 105;—seib, 419;—sigges, 209; pr. pl. seizen, 3;—sein, 318; pt. s. scide, 21; 2 p. seidest, 224, 435.*
- Selk-werk, *sb. silk-work, embroidery of silk*, 427.
- Selli, *adv. wonderfully, very, excessively*, 94. A.S. *sellīce*. All. P.
- Selue, *adv. pl. same, very*, 303.
- Semblaunt, *sb. semblance, appearance*, 65. Ch.
- Semely, *adv. in a fitting manner, soberly*, 636.
- Sence, *sb. incense*, 290.
- Sencers, *sb. pl. censers*, 289.
- Sende, *pt. s. sent, 77, 483; has sent, 460* (unless we should read *sendes*; but cf. 590).
- Seo, *v. to see, 167, 192, 352;—I-seo, 498; 1 p. s. pr. seo, 138; pr. s. seos, 258; pt. s. seiȝ, 58, 112;—seih, 181;—say, 274;—sayȝ, 152;—seze, 200;—saul, 269; pl. seizen, 15, 90;—sezȝen, 282.*
- Seruede, *pt. s. deserved, 482; pp. serued, served, 526.*
- Serwe, *sb. sorrow*, 705.
- Seten, *pt. pl. sat, 432.*
- Seue, seven, 95, 574;—seuene, 541.
- Seueȝe, seventh, 577.
- Seyne, *sb. sign, token*, 197. A.S. *segen*, a sign; Dut. *sein*, a signal.
- Sigge, Siggest. See Seize.
- Signede, *pt. s. signified, 185.*
- Signeyfies, *pr. s. means, 349;—signefyes, 627.*
- Siker, *adj. lit. sure; hence, safe and sound, 475; sure, secure, 605*. Will. of P.
- Siker, *adv. verily, 705;—syker, 664.*
- Sikerli, *adv. verily, assuredly, 541, 654;—sikerliche, 574.*
- Sikernes, *sb. security*, 623. Ch.
- Siben, *adv. since, 4; afterwards, 9, 12, 224, 568, 708.*
- Sitte, *v. to suit, agree, 120; to prosper, 224* (we now use *stand* in this sense).
- Skil, *sb. reason, matter*, 71. Ch.
- Slaught, *sb. slaughter, death*, 266. A.S. *sleȝe*, Mæso-Goth. *slaughts*.
- Sle, *v. to slay, 94, 364; 2 p. s. pt. slouȝ, slewest, 433; pt. pl. slowen, slew, 605; pp. I-slave, 96;—slayen, 541. In l. 517 *slen* = they slay; but it is not clear*

- whether *scheldes* or *þei* (understood) is the nominative.
- Sonde**, *sb.* message, 470; hence, appointment, ordinance, 323. Ch.
- Sonenday**, *sb.* Sunday, 1.
- Sore**, *sb.* trouble, 449. Will. of P.
- Sore**, *adv.* sorely, 487, 542. Will. of P.
- Soþe**, *sb.* truth, 523. *See Fer-
soþe.*
- Souht**, *pt. s.* sought; *souht vp* = rose up, sprang up, 181;—
souȝte, went, 634; 2 *p.* souȝtes, wentest, madest thy way, 431; 1
p. pl. souȝten, we went, 636; 3 *p.* souȝten, made their way, advanced, 594. *See Seche;* and cf. Gloss. to Will. of Palerne.
- Sound[e]**, *sb.* preservation, assistance giving security, safety, 675. O. Fries. *sonde*, *sunde*, G. *gesundheit*, soundness, preservation.
- Souwe**, *v.* to sew, 427.
- Space**, *sb.* opportunity (lit. space), 580.
- Spedes hem**, *pr. s.* avails them, 148; *pp.* sped, despatched, i.e. baptized, 9.
- Spedli**, *adv.* speedily, 580. Will. of P.
- Spekes**, *pr. s.* speaks, 38; 2 *p. s.* *pt. speke*, 218; *pt. s.* speek, 343, 346; *imp. s.* spck, 401.
- Spice**, *sb.* species, kind, 193. Ch.
- Sporn**, *sb.* lit. a spurning, kick; but used to mean a tumble, fall, 581. The French text shews that Seraphe's fall was "his own," because he swooned away, and by falling escaped the knife aimed at him. See note to l. 575.
- Spreynden**, *pt. pl.* they sprinkled, 314. Ch.
- Sprong**, *pt. s.* sprang, leapt about, grew excited, 343.
- Spute**, *v.* to dispute, 148. Halliwell.
- Sputison**, *sb.* disputation, 343.
- Stad**, *pp.* placed, stationed, 397.
- Starf**, *pt. s.* died; apparently, starf astur þe dep = afterwards died the death, 514. A.S. *steorfan*, G. *sterben*. Ch.
- Starte**, *pt. s.* started, 544.
- Stiken**, *pp.* stuck, pierced, 273.
- Stiward**, *sb.* steward, 518, 601.
- Stoffes**, *pr. s.* lit. stuffs; hence, draws together, rallies into a mass, 601.
- Stor**, *sb.* store, 456.
- Stounde**, *sb.* time, 644. Ch.
- Stour**, *sb.* battle, conflict, 518, 548; *pl.* stoures, 507. Ch.
- Streizten**, *pt. pl.* lit. stretched; awei streizten = went straight away or went away at full stretch, 456; *pp.* streiht, stretched, 519;—straȝt, 560; *pt. s.* streizte to = stretched out (his hand) to, 544. Will. of P.
- Strok**, *pt. s.* struck, 567; *pp.* striken, 519, 578, 679.
- Struien**, *v.* to destroy, 507; *to struien* is the gerund, and means to be destroyed; cf. our phrase, "he is to blame," which follows the A.S. idiom. Ch.
- Stude**, *sb.* place, 576; *pl.* studes, 634.
- Stedefast**, *adj.* steadfast, 220.
- Sturedede**, *pt. s.* stirred, 567.
- Sturten**, *pt. pl.* started, 363. Cf. Starte.
- Summe**, *pl. adj.* some (?), 30; to some, 349. In both passages, the construction is obscure.
- Sunnes**, *sb. pl.* sins, 223.
- Suwen** on him, *pr. pl.* follow him, 668. Ch.
- Swelten**, *v.* to die, 377. Ch.
- Swengeden**, *pt. pl.* swung, i.e. rushed, dashed, 529. A.S. *swingen*,

- to swing, dash. All. P. *See* Swyngede.
- Sweuene, *sb.* a dream, 441. Ch.
- Swiþe, *adv.* quickly, soon, 27, 161, 451, 571; excessively, 235. Will. of P.
- Swoune, *sb.* swoon, 583; where we should perhaps read *a swoune* = in a swoon: at any rate, *a, in, or on* must be understood.
- Swounynge, *sb.* a swooning, swoon, 543.
- Swouñninge, *pres. part.* swooning, 513.
- Swyngede, *pt. s.* dashed, rushed, 576. *See* Swengeden.
- Syker, *adv.* truly, verily, 664. *See* Sikerli.
- Teeme, *sb.* theme, 149. P. Pl. B. iii. 95.
- Teis, *sb. pl.* ties, fastenings, cords, 504. It seems to imply that there was some kind of cord or string bound round his hands so as to seure the axe from slipping. It is spelt *teȝen* in Laȝamon, ii. 457; “teien heom to-gadere mid guldene teȝen,” tie them together with golden ties.
- Teiȝ, *pt. s.* drew, i. e. went, 57; —tei, strained, tugged, exerted himself, 149; —towen, pulled, dragged, 374. A.S. *teóu*, to pull, draw. We find in Laȝamon the infin. *teon* (to go, come, approach, follow, deceed, return, turn, draw) with pt. s. *teih*, and pt. pl. *toren*. In the 2nd edition of All. P. *toren* is rightly explained *drawn*. Cf. mod. Eng. *tow, tug*.
- þat, that which, 129, 190, 200, 210; —þat þat, that which, 138.
- þauȝ, *conj.* though, 46; —þeiȝ, 125.
- þen, *conj.* than, 592, 596.
- þenkes, *imp. pl. 2 p.* think ye; —þenkes on = think of, call to mind, 493. To *think on* = remember is a common expression, to my own knowledge, in Shropshire.
- þenne, *adv.* thence, away from that place, 25, 368; fro þenne, from thence, 418.
- þer, *adv.* where, 13, 58, 599; —þere, 20; þer as = there where, 17.
- þester, *adj.* dark, 160. In l. 235, þester bi-gon = it began to be dark; but it is uncertain whether þester is here an adj. or a vb. It occurs in Laȝamon and the Ormulum.
- þhouȝte, *pt. s.* it seemed (a wonder to them), 606; —þouȝte, 677, 687; *pr. s.* þinkeþ, it seems (to me), 6.
- þinkeþ. *See* above.
- þise, *pl. pron.* these, 21, 337; —þis, 29, 419; —þis oþere, these others, 686.
- þo, those, they, 60.
- þonderde, *pt. s.* it thundered, 235.
- þonke, 1 *p. s. pr.* I thank, 5; *pr. pl.* þonken, 471.
- þorwȝ, *prep.* through, 97, 104.
- þouȝte. *See* þhouȝte.
- þouȝtes, *sb. pl.* anxieties, 177. Cf. Mat. vi. 25 (A. V.).
- þreo, *num.* three, 6, 140, 150, 177, 194; —þreo maner, three kinds of, 194.
- þridde, *adj.* third, 180, 263. Ch.
- þroly, *adv.* eagerly, impetuously, 91. Will. of P. and P. Pl. A. ix. 107.
- þrowe, *sb.* time, period, 6. Ch.
- þurleden, *pt. pl.* thrilled through, pierced, 509. Ch.
- Tides, *pr. s.* betides, 372; —tydes, 617. *See* Tyden.
- Titli, *adv.* quickly, 575. Will. of P.
- To-barst, *pt. s.* burst asunder, was

- broken to pieces, 384; *pt. pl. to-borsten*, *act. brake in twain*, 509.
- To-elouen, *pp.* cloven in twain, 516.
- To-hurles, *pr. s.* hurls or dashes in twain, 533.
- Toke, 2 *p. s.* *pt.* didst take, 438; *pt. pl.* token, 456.
- Tornen, *v. act.* to convert, turn (to the right faith), 23;—turne, 59;—torne, 229; 1 *p. s. pr.* turne, 215; *pt. s. neut.* tornede, became a convert, 179; *pt. pl.* torneden, 304;—tornede, turned round, 454; *pt. s. transit.* tornde, changed, 684; *pp.* I-tornd, converted, 216.
- Towen. *See Teiȝ.*
- Trayed, *pp.* betrayed, 102.
- Trayse, *v.* to betray, deceive, 624. Ch.
- Treos, *sb. pl.* trees, 191.
- Trouwe, *imp. s.* trow thou, believe, 184; 1 *p. s. pr.* trouwe, 216; 2 *p.* trouwest, believest, 372;—trouwestou (*for* trouwest *þou*), 617.
- Tulten, *pt. pl.* tilted over, fell, 100. *See Tylte*, All. P.
- Twayles, *sb. pl.* towels, napkins, 285. *See Twaile* in Halliwell.
- Twei, two, 708. Cf. Tweyne.
- Tweyne, twain, two, 670. A.S. *twégen*.
- Twies, *adv.* twice, 136, 520.
- Tyden, *v.* to betide, happen, fall out, 392; *pr. s.* tides, befalls, 372;—tydes, 617.
- Tymely, *adv.* early, betimes, 415.
- Vche, *adj.* each, 256;—vche a, 613.
- Vchon, each one, 339.
- Verrei, *adj.* very, true, 341.
- Verreyliche, *adv.* verily, 351;—verrcili, 448.
- Vestimens, *sb. pl.* vestments, 294, 301.
- Vigore, *sb.* figure, viz. the cross on the shield, 448. See note.
- Viole, *sb.* a vial, phial, 290.
- Vmbe, *adv.* about, all round, 394, 658. [Possibly *vmbe-mong* is one word, but I know of no instance of it elsewhere.] A.S. *ymbe*, around.
- Vn-castes, *pr. s.* casts or throws open, undoes, 477.
- Vncouȝes, *sb. pl.* wonders, unfamiliar events, 187.
- Vndo, *v.* to explain, 141.
- Vn-housed, *pt. pl.* dismantled, 455.
- Vn-huled, *pp.* uncovered, 515. Cf. P. Pl. B. xiv. 252 (foot-note).
- Vn-keuered, *pt. s.* uncovered, 559.
- Vn-kuynde, *adj. pl.* unnatural, without natural love, 242.
- Vnneȝe, *adv.* scarcely; *vnnēȝe* seuen = seven at most, 510. Ch.
- Vnsault, *pp.* unreconciled, un-peased, very angry, 64; at strife, 433. Lazamon.
- Vnsely, *adj.* unhappy, miserable, 704; cf. l. 705. Lazamon. Ch.
- Vp-haunset, *pp.* raised up, lifted up, 515. *See Haunsen.*
- Vr, our, 143;—vre, 32, 164, 245. So in P. Pl. A.
- Vsede, *pt. s.* used; vsede of = made use of, 660.
- Vuel, *sb.* evil, sore disease, 633;—euel, 644.
- War, *adj.* aware, 530. Ch.
- Warpes, *pr. s.* turns over, lifts up, 257. All. P.
- Was, *put for* who was, 19, 38.
- Wasscheles, *sb. pl.* pots for holy water, 288. See note.
- Wawes, *pr. s.* wags, moves, removes, 52. A.S. *wágian*.

- Wel, *adv.* well; so wel weore
þei = they were so fortunate, 33;
—wel aboute = just about, 165;
—wel a twó hundred, i.e. about
two hundred, 521;—wel of vr-self,
pleased with ourselves, happy, 659.
- Welde, *pt. s.* wielded, managed,
drove about, 600.
- Wem, *sb.* spot, stain, 86, 180.
Ch.
- Wemmet, *pp.* injured, 542;—
wemmed, 678. *See Wem.*
- Wende, *v.* to go; *pr. pl.* wenden,
they wend, go, 29, 313; *2 p. s. pr.*
wendes, goest, 420; *pr. s.* wendes,
53, 237;—wendes, 546; *pt. pl.* went-
en, 191. In l. 211 *wende* may be *pt.*
s. = went, entered; or it may be
an error for *wonede*, dwelt, as
suggested by comparison with l.
180; yet see *won* in l. 333. *See*
Won.
- Weore, *pr. s. subj.* he were, 122,
652; *2 p. s. pr. indie.* (= wast), 428,
430, 437; *2 p. s. pr. subj.* were,
428; *pr. pl.* weore, 25, 33.
- Werdes, *sb. pl.* destinies, fates,
prophetic writings, 317. *See*
Wyrde in All. P. [But possibly
it is a mere error for *wordes* =
words.]
- Werret, *pp.* warred, 60.
- Whappede, *pt. s.* lapped, wrapped;
whappede us vñbe = enclosed us
ronnd, 658. “Lappyn or whappyn
yn elopys, happyn to-gedyr, wrap
to-geder in clothes. *Involvo.*”
Prompt, Parv.
- Whon, *adv.* when, 25, 31, 622.
- Whueche, *sb.* a hutch, ark, large
wooden box, 39, 237;—wȝueche,
267, 281. “Hutche or whyche . . .
Cista, archa.” Prompt, Parv. *See*
Way’s note. A.S. *hwecca.*
- Whiche, *rel. pron.* which, 270,
608.
- Wiht, *sh.* wight, man, person,
196, 197. *See* the note.
- Wihltli, *adv.* quickly, nimbly, 461.
- Wisse, *v.* to shew, point out,
make known, 32. Will. of P.
- Wite, *v.* to know, 443; *2 p. s.*
pr. wostou (wost þou), knowest
thou, 420; *pr. s. subj.* may know,
465; *imp. s.* wite, 86; *pt. s.* wuste,
58, 677. Ch. *See Wustest.*
- Witered, *pp.* informed, 466. All.
P.
- Witerli, *adv.* openly, plainly,
confessedly, 154. Dan. *vitterlig*,
publicly known. Ch.
- Wiþ-outen, *adv.* on the outside,
316.
- Wiþ-saken, *pp.* withstood, con-
tradicted, 178. *See Lazamon,* v.
ii. p. 118.
- Wode-egge, *sb.* wood-edge, edge
of a forest, 475.
- Wol, *1 p. s. pr.* will, 621;—
wole, 624; *1 p. s. pt.* wolde, 640;
pt. s. he desired, 115; *2 p. pl.* wolde
3e, if ye would, 67.
- Woldestou (*for* woldest þou), if
thou wouldest, 640.
- Woltou (*for* wolt thou), 646.
- Won, *pt. s.* (from infin. *winne*),
went, entered, 333. Cf. the Scotch
use of to *win*. *See* P. Pl. B. iv.
67.
- Wonde, *v.* to hesitate from fear,
hesitate to speak, 399. Will. of P.
- Wondet, *pp.* wounded, 542;—
woundet, 555.
- Wonen, *v.* to dwell, 180; *pt. s.*
wonede, 56, 635; *pp.* woned, 315.
Ch.
- Wonges, *sb. pl.* checks, 647. A.S.
wang, wong, cheek, jaw.
- Wood, *adj.* mad, 367. Ch.
- Worche, *v.* to work, 49. *See*
Wrouȝt.
- Worþe, *pr. s. subj.* may (he) be, 146.
- Wost, *2 p. s. pr.* wottest, knowest,
330.
- Wostou, (*for* wost þou), wottest
thou, knowest thou, 420.

Woxen, 2 <i>p. pl. pt.</i> did grow, became, 433; <i>pt. pl.</i> grew, 452.	ȝeme, <i>v.</i> to take care of, 309; 2 <i>p. s. pr. ȝemes</i> , 310. Ch.
Wrouȝt, <i>pp.</i> constructed, 204; worked, toiled, 554; <i>pt. pl.</i> wrouȝten, wrought, did; his red wrouȝten = wrought his counsel, acted by his advice, 491. <i>See</i> Worehe.	ȝernloker, <i>adv.</i> more eagerly, 593. Both the positive <i>ȝeornliche</i> and the comp. <i>ȝeorneluker</i> occur in the An- cren Riwle, pp. 98, 234.
Wustest, 2 <i>p. s. pt.</i> didst protect, 221 (see note); <i>pt. s. wuste</i> , knew, 58, 677. <i>See</i> Witen.	ȝif, <i>conj. if</i> , 329, 484.
Wynt, <i>sb.</i> a wind, breeze, 658.	ȝitte, <i>adv.</i> yet, 63; still, 334.
ȝaf, <i>pt. s.</i> gave, 439.	ȝong, <i>adj.</i> young, 437, 479, 593.
ȝe, yea (used where mere <i>assent</i> is implied), 170, 621.	ȝonge, <i>v.</i> to gang, to go, 34; <i>pr.</i> <i>pl. ȝongen</i> , 313, 394.
	ȝor, your, 673.
	ȝore, <i>in phr. of ȝore</i> , formerly, 317. A.S. <i>geara</i> .
	ȝesterday, yesterday, 330.

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GLOSSARY TO THE PROSE "LYFE OF JOSEPH,"

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[The reference 27/20 means p. 27, l. 20.]

ADUOCATES , <i>sb. pl.</i> defenders, supporters, 27/20.	For by cause, for the reason that, 30/11; 31/34.
Aferde , <i>adj.</i> afraid, 30/7.	Fynably, <i>adv.</i> finally, 28/18.
Affrayed , <i>pp.</i> frightened, afraid, 29/31.	Gaderyd, <i>pt. pl.</i> gathered, 28/11.
Agaynst , <i>prep.</i> in an opposite direction to; agaynst hym = to meet him, 29/19.	Heedes, <i>sb. pl.</i> chief men, 28/24.
Applied , <i>pt. pl. in phr.</i> applied unto londe = landed, 31/22. The Latin text has <i>applicuerunt</i> .	Hole, <i>adj.</i> whole, 30/24.
Assumpte , <i>pp.</i> taken up, 30/34.	Hystoryal, <i>adj.</i> history-writing, 27/7.
Become , <i>in phr.</i> was become = had gone to, 28/21.	In-fere, <i>adv.</i> together, 28/14.
Cast , <i>2 p. pl. pr.</i> consider, 28/1. <i>See Kest.</i>	Inioyed, <i>pt. pl.</i> rejoiced, 28/20.
Closed, <i>pt. pl.</i> enclosed, 28/4.	Instruete, <i>pp.</i> instructed, 30/28.
Comynalte, <i>sb.</i> community, 28/20.	Interyd, <i>pt. s.</i> interred, 27/14; <i>pp.</i> 28/10.
Condigne, <i>adj.</i> condign, 32/14.	Kest, <i>pt. pl.</i> contrived, imagined, devised, 27/17. <i>See Cast.</i>
Conseerate, <i>pp.</i> consecrated, 31/11.	Knowlege, <i>1 p. pl. pr.</i> acknowledge, 28/32.
Consequently, <i>adv.</i> afterwards, 31/5.	Lettest bury = didst cause to be buried, 29/28; letest be buried, 30/11.
Dure, <i>v.</i> to last, 31/21.	Louers, <i>sb. pl.</i> friends, 27/19.
Dydayned, <i>pt. s.</i> disdained, 29/34.	Lyuynge, <i>sb.</i> victuals, 31/34.
Effecte, <i>sb.</i> meaning, 28/27; 29/11.	Ouerloked, <i>pp.</i> read over, 29/11. Cf. <i>Ouer-se</i> in the Verse "Lyfe."

Parfyte, <i>adj.</i> perfect, 27/15.	Somdele, <i>adv.</i> in some measure, partly, 30/12.
Partyes, that = those parts, those regions, 32/1.	Sudarye, <i>sb.</i> napkin, 30/16. Lat. <i>sudarium.</i>
Perysshed, <i>pp.</i> pierced, 31/28. See Verse "Lyfe," l. 13, and the note.	Synguler, <i>adj.</i> special, 29/3.
Pretorye, <i>sb.</i> prætorium, 27/3.	Thantyquytes, <i>put for</i> the anty-quytes, 27/7.
Probate, <i>adj.</i> certified, certain, approved, 27/6.	Thonourable, <i>put for</i> the honourable, 27/8.
Promytte, <i>v.</i> to promise, 32/8.	Thynstaunce, <i>put for</i> the ynstaunce, i. e. the instance, 31/19.
Rehersall, <i>sb.</i> recital, 27/22.	Vngoodly, <i>adv.</i> badly, 28/8.
Resaluted, <i>pt. s.</i> saluted in return, 29/21.	Voyde, <i>v.</i> to go away, depart, 32/12.
Salued, <i>pt. pl.</i> saluted, 29/8.	

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| Armony, <i>sb.</i> harmony, 403. | Chauntres, <i>sb.</i> chantress, 389. |
| Assumpeyon, <i>sb.</i> Assumption (of the Virgin Mary into heaven), 208. This festival is observed by both the Romish and Greek churches on Aug. 15. The legend is found in Gregory of Tours, <i>De Gloria Martyrum</i> . The Virgin is said to have been taken up into heaven, Aug. 15, A.D. 45, in her seventy-fifth year. The festival was first instituted in the 7th century, and enjoined by the Council of MENTZ, A.D. 813. | Connayed, <i>pt. s.</i> took (him) away, removed, 88. |
| Balynger, <i>sb.</i> a sailing vessel, 425. Ducange suggests the derivation <i>balena</i> , a whale, on the supposition that it was a “whaler.” On the other hand, the Span. <i>ballener</i> is said to mean a vessel shaped like a whale. | Couerture, <i>sb.</i> covering, 72. |
| Becom, 2 <i>p. s. pr. subj.</i> mayst go to, 76. | Cruettes, <i>sb. pl.</i> cructs, 32. |
| Benome, <i>pp.</i> numbed, benumbed, 307. A.S. <i>niman</i> , to take away. | Darked, <i>pt. s.</i> grew dark, 108. |
| Blyfe, <i>adv.</i> quickly, soon, 191. Usually spelt <i>belye</i> ; from A.S. <i>bi</i> , by, and <i>lif</i> , dative case of <i>lif</i> , life. | Dentyous, <i>adj.</i> dainty, choice, valuable, 427. |
| Bore, <i>pp.</i> borne, carried, 333. | Deuer, <i>sb.</i> duty, best endeavour, 154. It occurs in P. Plowman. |
| Burge, <i>r.</i> to burgeon, bud, 386. See <i>Burgeon</i> in Wedgwood. | Dregges, <i>sb. pl.</i> drugs, 443. |
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| | Eglantyne, <i>sb.</i> eglantine, 434. |
| | Encled, <i>pp.</i> anointed with holy oil, 275. O.Fr. <i>enhuyller</i> . See Prompt. Parv. s. v. <i>Auelyd</i> . |
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| | Entente, <i>sb.</i> intent, 37. |
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- Fortuned, *pt. pl.* came by chance, 133.
- Fransy, *sb.* madness, 252;—freney, 445.
- Habytakyll, *sb.* shrine, 243.
- Halowed, *pt. s.* consecrated, 371; *pp.* 376.
- Hawthornes, *sb.* (miraculous) hawthorn-trees, 385.
- Hele, *sb.* health, 294.
- Henge, *pt. s.* hung, 222. *See* Hyng.
- Holde, *imp. s.* take hold of, 72.
- Hole, *adj.* whole, hale, 280.
- Hoseled, *pp.* supplied with the holy sacrament of the eucharist, 275. A.S. *hásel*, the eucharist.
- Hony-combe, *sb.* honey comb, i. e. our Saviour, 417.
- Hye me, *v.* make haste, 158.
- Hyng, 2 *p. pt. pl.* (ye) did hang, 42. *See* Henge.
- Iaudes, *sb.* jaundice, 447.
- Infect, *pp.* infected, 330.
- Iubylaeyon, *sb.* joy, 403.
- Iwys, *adv.* certainly, 39.
- Kay, *sb.* key, 53.
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- Layes, *sb. pl.* beliefs (lit. laws), 197.
- Lepry, *sb.* leprosy, 46.
- Louers, *sb. pl.* friends, 95.
- Lyghtly, *adv.* readily, soon, 141.
- Lyned, *pt. s.* believed, 197. Generally spelt *leue*, but the spelling *lyue* occurs in P. Plowman.
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- Megrymes, *sb. pl.* the megrims, 348. See *Megrin* in Wedgwood.
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- Parde = Fr. *par Dieu*, 372.
- Parencycle, *sb.* order, society (*or perhaps* the abode of a society), 402. Cf. Low Lat. *parentela*, a society, order; F. *parentele*, kindred.
- Perysshed, *pp.* pierced, 13. See p. 31, l. 28.
- Pockes, *sb. pl.* pocks, pox, 330. A.S. *poc*, a pustule.
- Pocyon, *sb.* potion, 443.
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- Processe, *sb.* record, narrative, 366.
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- Pyght, *pp.* placed, put, 106.
- Pylles, *sb. pl.* pills, 443.
- Quycke, *adj.* living, 221.
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- Resplendence, *sb.* splendour, 422.
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- Rote, *in phr.* herte rote, root or bottom of the heart, 27.
- Rowt, *sb.* company, 192.
- Rychesse, *sb.* richness, 175.
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 Semetory, *sb.* cemetery, 379.
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The Times' Whistle.

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The Times' Whistle:

or

A Newe Daunce of Seven Satires, and
other Poems:

Compiled by R. C., Gent.



NOW FIRST EDITED FROM MS. Y. 8. 3. IN THE LIBRARY OF
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BY

J. M. COWPER,

EDITOR OF 'ENGLAND IN THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH,' ETC.

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MDCCCLXXI.

TO

Charles Edward Donne, M.A.,

VICAR OF FAVERSHAM, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT SYDNEY, G.C.B.,

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

AS A TOKEN OF SINCERE ESTEEM

BY

J. M. COWPER.



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INTRODUCTION.

THE Prologue to Hall's Satires opens with these lines :—

“I first adventure, with fool-hardy might
To tread the steps of perilous despite.
I first adventure, follow me who list,
And be the second English Satirist.”

But Hall was hardly correct in his assertion that he was the first to adventure in this perilous path, for Hake's *Newes out of Powles Churchyard* had been given to the public eighteen years before, though without attracting the attention and obtaining the honour which befell Hall's “toothless satires.”¹ His challenge, “who'll be the second English Satirist,” was not, however, long unaccepted. In the following year (1598) appeared Marston's *Scourge of Villanie* and *The Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image*. Samuel Rowlands also (as well as others) now began to write, and continued to add during

¹ Thomas Timme's *Discoverie of Ten Lepers* appeared in 1592. The “Ten Lepers” are :—

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. The Schismatique. | 6. The Glutton. |
| 2. The Church-robber. | 7. The Adulterer or Fornicator. |
| 3. The Simoniac. | 8. The Couetous Man. |
| 4. The Hypocrite. | 9. The Murtherer. |
| 5. The Proud Man. | 10. The Murmurer. |

The full title is :—

A plaine discouerie of ten English Lepers, verie noisome and hurtfull to the Church and common wealth : Setting before our eies the iniquitie of these latter dayes, and indusing vs to a due consideration of our selues. Published by Thomas Timme Minister. London, Printed by Peter Short, dwelling vpon Bredstreet hill, &c. 1592. 4to. A to M in fours. Dedicated to Sir William Brooke, Baron of Cobham (*Hazlitt*), Brit. Mus. 4103. c.

many years to the satiric literature of the time. It was in vain that the authorities endeavoured to wrest the “Rhamnusian whip” from the hands of these powerful writers ; it was in vain to enjoin “that noe Satyres or Epigrams be printed hereafter.” Whitgift and Bancroft might burn them, but they could not stay their re-appearance, and the Satirist found not only materials for books in abundance, but buyers also, and Satires continued to appear long after the death of the “Virgin Queen,” whose ministers condemned Hall’s *Satires* to the flames, but spared Harington’s *Orlando Furioso*.¹

The date at which the *Times’ Whistle* was written is easily ascertained. The Rev. H. J. Todd, who compiled the Canterbury Catalogue, though acquainted with the MS., was incorrect in fixing the date “near 1598.” The internal evidence is satisfactory upon this point. The reference to Faux and Ravaillac² gives the first clue : the former died in 1605 and the latter in 1610. Other allusions more to the point are to Coryate’s *Crudities*, p. 26, which appeared in 1611, and to Dr Carrier,³ p. 52. Now Carrier died

¹ See *Notes and Queries*, 3rd S. xii. 436, and Dyce’s *Marlowe*, p. xxxviii. note.

² Ravaillac, a lay-Jesuit, had, it is said, watched a whole twelvemonth for an opportunity to murder the king, Henry IV., and at last stabbed him as he was on his way to the Bastile. The assassin was at once apprehended and carefully guarded from the fury of the populace. Many consultations were held how to punish him, some Italian physicians offering to prescribe a torment which should continue without intermission for three days. “But he scaped only with this, his body was pulled between four horses, that one might hear his bones crack, and after the dislocation, they were set again, and so he was carried in a cart standing half naked, with a torch in that hand which had committed the murder ; and in the place where the act was done, it was cut off, and a gauntlet of hot oil was clapped upon the stump, to stanch the blood, whereat he gave a doleful shriek. Then was he brought upon a stage, where a new pair of boots was provided for him, half filled with boiling oil. Then his body was pincered, and hot oil poured into the holes ; in all the extremity of this torture he scarce showed any sense of pain, but when the gauntlet was clapped upon his arms to stanch the flux, at which time he was reeking with blood, he gave a shriek only. He bore up against all these torments about three hours before he died.”—Howel’s *Familiar Letters*, ed. 1678, p. 25.

John Taylor, in his *Complaint of Christmas* (1646) mentions, among others, the following *Saints* : Saint *Ravilac*, Saint *Flux*, Saint *Garnet*.

³ Benjamin Carrier, or Carier, D.D., was the son of Anthony Carrier, a learned and devout preacher, who caused his son to be strictly educated in the Protestant religion, and afterwards in academical literature at Cambridge, where he became a fellow of C. C. Coll., and a noted scholar and preacher. About

"before Midsummer 1614," probably in May or the early part of June in that year, and hence it is evident that the *Satires* cannot have an earlier date than the middle of 1614; most probably they were not finished before the end of this or the beginning of the following year.

The *Poems* will help us to fix the later date. In 1616 Ben Jonson's *Works*, containing his Epigrams, appeared, and to these there is a reference in the Minor Poems.¹ If "R. C." did not see these Epigrams of Jonson's until they appeared in the "Works," then 1616 may be safely taken as the later date, and we are able to fix the Satires and Poems as having been written between Midsummer 1614 and the end of 1616, sufficiently near to answer every purpose. But we know that it was the fashion then for authors to hand about their writings in manuscript.² There is abundant evidence that Jonson did so, and presumptive evidence that "R. C." had seen those Epigrams before they were given to the world.

A reference to Jonson will show this. His Eighteenth Epigram, addressed "To my mere English Censurer," answers objections which had been made to his new style of epigrams, and their being unlike those of Weever and Davis. Epigram xlix. is addressed

"To PLAYWRIGHT.

Playwright me reades, and still my verses damnes ;
He sayes, I want the tongue of epigrammes ;
I have no salt ; no bawdrie he doth meane,
For wittie, in his language, is obscene.

the time when James I. came to the throne of England, Carrier published one or more sermons, was made a Royal Chaplain, and one of the first Fellows of Chelsea College, founded by Dr Matthew Sutcliff. Becoming very unsettled in his religious opinions, he abandoned the Church of England for the Church of Rome, and removed to Liege, where he wrote his *Missire* to the king, containing the motives which led him to renounce Protestantism. This appeared in October, 1614. He also published a Letter of the miserable Ends of such as impugn the Catholic Church, which appeared in 1615. He died, according to Anth. à Wood, before Midsummer-day, 1614, when he "concluded his last day, putting thereby a period to the great imaginations that men of learning had of him and his worth, and to the expectation of other books to be published." For further information the reader is referred to a valuable note in *Notes and Queries*, 4th S. vii. 130; Wood's *Fasti Oxon.*; and Bohn's *Lorndes*, but the fullest account of Carrier which I have seen is that in Masters's History of C. C. C. Cambridge (Camb. 1753).

¹ p. 132.

² Dyce's *Marlowe*, p. 65, note.

Playwright, I loath to have thy manners knowne
 In my chaste booke : professe them in thine owne.”
Jonson's Works, folio, 1616.

This reads very much like an answer to that of “R. C.” The latter says :—

“ Peruse his booke, thou shalt not find a dram
 Of witt befitting a true Epigram”;

and the retort is,

“ He sayes I want the tongue of epigrammes ;
 I have no salt ; no bawdrie he doth meane,
 For wittie, in his language, is obscene.”¹

One other point as to date. The poem *In Neandrem* refers, no doubt, to the visit of James I. to Cambridge. Now this visit took place in March, 1615, and gave rise to much good and ill-humoured banter. Francis (afterwards Sir Francis) Nethersole was Public Orator at the time, and, all are agreed, made something very much like a fool of himself. But it cannot be to him that the poem refers. Had he been “struck mute with fear” he would have been spared such taunts as

“ Now come we to the wonderment
 Of Christendom, and eke of Kent,
 The Trinity ; which to surpass,
 Doth deck her spokesman by a glass :
 Who, clad in gay and silken weeds,
 Thus opes his mouth, hark how he speeds.

“ I wonder what your grace doth here,
 Who have expected been twelve year,

¹ I am indebted to Mr Furnivall for the following :—

In the Sale Catalogue of Lilly's books is a copy (No. 1557) of the first edition of Ben Jonson's *Workes*, 1616, and

On the fly-leaf are the following verses in a cotemporary handwriting :—

“ Jonson that whilome brought the guilty age
 To suffer for her misdeeds on ye stage,
 Ruin'd by age now cannot hold out play,
 And must bee forc'd to throw his eards away :
 For since he so ill keeps what hee earst wonne,
 Sinee that his reputation's lost and gone,
 The age sweares she'll no longer hold him play
 With her attention ; but without delay
 Will rise, if some fresh Gamester will not fitte,
 That's furnished with a better stoeke of witte.”

Catalogue, p. 160.

And this your son, fair *Carolus*,
 That is so *Jacobissimus*:
 Here's none, of all, your grace refuses,
 You are most welcome to our Muses";

and more to the same purpose.¹

In *A New Quaint Ballad of Cambridge*, the author of which is unknown, we read—

"Oxford she a Christ-church had,
 To entertain the king; ;
 And Cambridge had a Trinity,
 And scarce one wise therein.
 'Most Jacob'd Charles,' did Cambridge cry,
 'Thou weleome art to us;'
 An Oxford boy must have untruss'd,
 If he had crièd thus."²

In *News out of Cambridge*³ also the Trinity Oration is dwelt upon; but we learn in addition that Cambridge not only was guilty of nonsense there, but of absolute failure at St Mary's, as we shall show further on. If, then, the poem *In Neandrem* refers to this event, we have another element in fixing the date, and the years 1614 to 1616 may be accepted as conclusive.

To the question, "Who was 'R. C.'?" I am unable to give an answer. "There were," says Mr Corser,⁴ "several poetical authors about this period who rejoiced in these initials, Robert Chamberlaine, Robert Chester, Roger Cocks, Robert Copland, Roger Cotton, Ralph Crane, Richard Crashaw, Robert Crowley, and Robert Croft;" and to these may be added Richard Carew, Robert Carliell, and Richard Corbet, successively Bishop of Oxford and Norwich. Several of these may be dismissed at once—they were dead, or wrote later than when these Satires were written; Carew, Carliell, Corbet, Crane, and others, were alive, but to few of these can this volume be attributed. One well-known scholar⁵ thinks Richard Carew was the author; another⁶ suggests Ralph Crane. But after an examination of some of their writings I am reluctantly compelled to say I do not think either Carew or Crane wrote the *Times' Whistle*. If either

¹ *Corbet's Poems*, ed. Gilechrist, 1807, pp. 17, 18.

² *Inedited Miscellanies*. Privately printed, 1870.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, p. 231.

⁵ J. Payne Collier, Esq.

⁶ W. Carew Hazlitt, Esq.

did, then it must be confessed that their known writings are far inferior to these Satires. A few lines in *Crane's New Year's Gift* are all that can bear comparison with any portion of this volume:—

—“His great Prouidence (neuer forsaking)
Did first excite thee to this vnder-taking :
He bids thee write: rely on him, and send
Thy prayers vp, and he will fairly end
This thy desire.”—*N. Y. Gift*, p. 2.

“Euery one
Mones by his power, lines by his permission,
And can do nothing if the prohibition
Of the Almighty doe oppugne; it lies
Only in him to end each enterprise.”—*T. Whistle*, p. 3.

—“All such labours in his nostrils stinke,
And therfore shall prove fruitlesse: men intend,
But God it is that consummates the end.”—*Ib.*, p. 17.

There is a writer, who, but for one difficulty, to be mentioned shortly, would meet all the requirements of the case, and that is Richard Corbet, who was at this time very active with his pen. He was born at Ewell, in Surrey, in 1582, received the rudiments of his education at Westminster School, and in 1598 was entered at Broadgate Hall, and in the following year was admitted a student of Christ-Church College, Oxford. In 1605 he graduated Master of Arts, and became celebrated as a wit and a poet.¹ A man who had the reputation of being a wit and a poet, and who was at one time found in a tavern with the jolly fellows of his day; who at another time, and after he was Doctor of Divinity, was seen putting off his Doctor's gown and putting on a leathern jacket, and singing ballads at Abingdon Cross, certainly would not be found among the ranks of the Puritans: and so we find him undisguisedly opposed to Abbott, at this time Archbishop of Canterbury, and siding with Laud, then rising into fame. In 1616 he was recommended by Convocation as a proper person to be elected to Chelsea College, of which, as we have already seen,² Benjamin Carrier had been a Fellow. Even when promoted to a bishoprie, Corbet could not forget, and did not choose to abandon, some of his jovial habits, for it is said that he would sometimes take

¹ *The Poems of Richard Corbet*, edited by Octavius Gilchrist, 1807.

² p. x, note ³.

the key of the wine-cellar, and with his chaplain, Dr Lushington, would go and lock himself in and be merry. First of all the Bishop would lay down his hood, with “There lies the Doctor;” then he would put off his gown, with “There lies the Bishop;” and then it was “Here’s to thee, Corbet,” and, “Here’s to thee, Lushington!” The man who could act thus would be the very man to write the lines

“Then straight into the cellar he ’ll them bring—
’Tis sweetest drinking at the very spring,”¹

and to record such a journey as that to Islington to eat cream,² described on page 83, and to be credited with writing the song in praise of good ale, which is sometimes attributed to him.³

Corbet was certainly no “precisian.” But in spite of the want of an austerity befitting his sacred calling, and his hatred of the go-to-meeting portion of Englishmen, it is gratifying to find that the merry bishop died beloved and honoured. “In no record of his life is there the slightest trace of malevolence or tyranny. ‘He was,’ says Fuller, ‘of a courteous carriage, and no destructive nature to any who offended him, counting himself plentifully repaireed with a jest upon him.’ Benevolent, generous, and spirited in his public character; sincere, amiable, and affectionate in private life; correct, eloquent, and ingenious as a poet;⁴ he appears to have deserved and enjoyed through life the patronage and friendship of the great, and the applause and estimation of the good.”⁵

Such was the man; and his character seems perfectly consistent with the theory that he wrote these *Satires* and *Poems*. It now remains to present portions of Corbet’s acknowledged writings, that the reader may compare them in style and sentiment with what we

¹ p. 60.

² Samuel Pepys visited Islington at various times. “My father,” he says (ii. 111), “used to carry us to Islington, to the old man’s, at the King’s Head, to eat cakes and ale.” “Back to Islington, and at the King’s Head, where Pitts lived, we light, and eat and drunk for remembrance of the old house sake.”—(*Ib.* 121.) “Thence to Islington, and there eate and drank at the house my father and we were wont of old to go.”—(*Ib.* 183.) “Thence to Hackney. There light, and played at shuffle-board, eat cream and good cherries; and so with good refreshment home.”—(ii. 133.) ³ See p. xxxvii.

⁴ J. Payne Collier, Esq., writes to me, “It is seldom one meets with such measure and such meaning” as are found in the *Times’ Whistle*.

⁵ O. Gilchrist’s *Corbet*, p. li.

have in this volume. King James visited Cambridge, as before stated, in 1615. Many Oxford men were present, and among them Corbet. Now, although Corbet declared "he had left his malice and judgment at home, and came there only to commend," the opportunity to exercise his wit at the expense of Cambridge was too strong for him to resist, and on his return to Oxford he composed a ballad "To the Tune of Bonny Nell." This ballad, and others which appeared at the same time, make reference to the failure of one or more who were appointed to dispute before the king, but broke down. Corbet, in the ballad, says,—

"Now pass we to the civil law,
And eke the doctors of the spaw,
Who all performed their parts so well,
Sir Edward Ratcliffe *bore the bell*,
Who was, by the king's own appointment,
To speak of spells, and magick oyntment."

Corbet's Poems, p. 20.

With this compare the following :—

"IN NEANDREM.

Neander, held a great cevillian¹
(Let me not say a Machiavillian)
Appointed to dispute before the king,
Struck mute with fear, could not say anything
Save twas ill luck ; for if he had done well
As we expected, he would *bear the bell*
From the whole Academie for the test,
Tis certaine he had been a knight at least,
And made his wife (what she hath lookt for long)
A Madame. Fortune, thou hast done her wrong
To hinder his once dubbing of his wife
Which hath duble him soe often in his life."

T. Whistle, p. 134.

These extracts are given that the reader may have an opportunity of comparing the known R. Corbet with the unknown "R. C." It is probable that the poem *In Neandrem*, and the following lines from *News from Cambridge*,² refer to Dr Richardson.³

¹ Cevillian, one versed in civil law.

² Inedited Miscellanies. Privately printed, 1870.

³ The following extract is from Nichol's *Progresses, &c., of Jas. I.*, vol. iii. p. 57 (4to, Lond. 1828). "An extraordinary Act in Divinity was kept at Cambridge before King James, wherein Doctor John Davenant was Answerer,

“One morn they went unto St Mary’s,
Where one amongst the rest miscarries,
For, thinking well for to dispute,
Propounds the question and falls mute.

Nor did he blush nor want excuse :
He follow’d but the Cambridge use.”

To quote all from Corbet’s Poems which might fairly be quoted would be to occupy more space than can be spared ; a few examples must suffice. See how he treats the Puritans :—

“I needs must say ’tis a spirituall thing
To raile against a bishopp, or the king ;
Nor are they meane adventures wee have bin in,
About the wearing of the churches linnen.”

Corbet’s Poems, ed. 1807, p. 106.

“Routes and wilde pleasures doe invite temptation,
And this is dangerous for our damnation ;
Wee must not move our selves, but if w’ are mov’d
Man is but man ; and therefore those that lov’d
Still to seeme good, would evermore dispence
With their own faults, so they give no offence.
If the times sweete entising, and the blood
That now begins to boyle, have thought it good
To challenge Liberty and Recreacion,
Let it be done in holy contemplation :
Brothers and Sisters in the fields may walke,
Beginning of the Holy Word to talke,
Of David, and Uriahs lovely wife,
Of Thamar, and her lustfull brothers strife ;
Then, underneath the hedge that woos them next,
They may sitt doune, and there act out the text.
Nor doe wee want, how ere we live austere,
In winter Sabbath-nights our lusty cheere ;

and Dr. Richardson amongst others the Opposers. The question was maintained in the negative concerning the Excommunicating of Kings. Dr. Richardson vigorously pressed the practice of St. Ambrose excommunicating the Emperor Theodosius ; insomuch that the King in some passion returned : ‘Prefecto fuit hoc Ambrosio insolentissime factum !’ To whom Dr. Richardson rejoyned : ‘Responsum verè Regium, et Alexandro dignum ! Hoe non est argumenta dissolvere, sed dissecare ;’ and so, sitting down, desisted from any further dispute.”

I am indebted to the kindness of Mr Dennis Hall, of the Cambridge Union Library, for this note, and also for pointing out the similarity of expression used by Corbet in reference to Sir E. Ratcliff and by the writer of *In Neandrem*. Mr Hall, without knowing that the same question had presented itself to me, asks, “Can the R. C. in question be Richard Corbet, Bp. of Norwich ?”

And though the pastors grace, which oft doth hold
 Halfe an howre long, make the provision cold,
 Wee can be merry ; thinking 't nere the worse
 To mend the matter at the second course.
 Chapters are read, and hymnes are sweetly sung,
 Joynly commanded by the nose and tongue ;
 Then on the Worde wee diversly dilate,
 Wrangling indeed for heat of zeale, not hate :
 When at the length an unappeased doubt
 Feircely comes in, and then the light goes out ;
 Darkness thus workes our peabee, and wee containe
 Our fyery spiritts till we see againe.
 Till then, no voice is heard, no tongue doth goe,
 Except—" &e., &e.—*Ib.*, pp. 108—110.

Another quotation from Corbet may be given here.

“ Have I renoune't my faith, or basely sold
 Salvation, and my loyalty, for gold ?
 Have I some forreigne practiee undertooke
 By poyson, shott, sharp-knife, or sharper booke
 To kill my king ? have I betrayd the state
 To fire and fury, or some newer fate,
 Which learned murderers, those grand destinies,
 The Jesuites, have nure'd ? if of all these
 I guilty am, proceed ; I am content.”—*Ib.* p. 47.

These quotations, and other passages to be found in Corbet's writings, have the ring and the swing which characterize the whole of the *Times' Whistle*. No other Satires which I have read, by any one “ rejoicing in these initials,” allow of scarcely any comparison being made ; but with the Bishop the case is altogether different. The same smooth measure, the same frequent references to history, the same intense scorn of Puritans and Puritanism, are found in Corbet's poetry and in that of “ R. C.” I am aware of the difficulty —there is, I think, but one—which besets this theory. “ R. C., *Gent.*,” is not the same as the “ Rev. R. C.,” or “ R. C., Clerk.” But it must be remembered that Corbet published none of his Poems during his lifetime, and that it was not till some twelve years after his death that any of them were given to the public. The *Times' Whistle* and the *Poems* were evidently written for publication ; but why the intention was not carried out there is no hint to show. If Corbet wrote them, his elevation to high positions in the Church may have led him to abandon the publication alto-

gether, judging that some of the scenes in which the writer took a part would but ill correspond with his ecclesiastical character.¹

Our Poet, whoever he was, was well read in and made good use of the literature of his time, as well as of ancient classic authors. Shakespeare, Marston, Marlowe, Jonson, Hall, and others, appear to have been consulted to some purpose, but not to an extent to render the author liable to any grave charge of plagiarism. Only a few of these allusions to his contemporaries can be given; the reader will readily supply omissions. And first as to Shakespeare:

Gloucester. Suspicion always haunts the guilty mind;
The thief doth fear each bush an officer.

K. Henry. The bird that hath been limèd in a bush,
With trembling wings misdoubteth every bush.—*3 K. Hen. VI.* v. 6.

¹ The MS. is not in the handwriting of Bp Corbet. I have compared it with an autograph letter of the Bishop's in the British Museum.

Another "R. C." appears in W. Bosworth's *The Chast and Lost Lovers*. Mr Furnivall referred to the book for me, and forwarded me the following, which seems worthy of attention:—

"The Chast and Lost Lovers, Lively shadowed in the persons of *Areadius* and *Sepha*, and illustrated with the severall stories of *Hæmon* and *Antigone*, *Eramio* and *Amissa*, *Phaon* and *Sappho*, *Delithason* and *Verista*: Being a description of severall Lovers smiling with delight, and with hopes fresh as their youth, and fair as their beauties in the beginning of their Affections, and covered with Blood and Horror in the conclusion. To this is added the Contestation betwixt *Bacehus* and *Diana*, and certain Sonnets of the Author to *AVRORA*. Digested into three Poems, by *Will. Bosworth, Gent.*

Me quoque
Impune volare, & sereno
Culliope dedit ire caelo.

London, Printed by F. L. for Laurence Blaiklock, and are to be sold at his shop at *Temple-Bar*, 1651."

8vo. A in 8 unpaged; B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, 127 pages, and last page blank (Brit. Mus. press-mark E. ¹²³⁶ ₂).

The prose Epistle Dedicatory 'To the true Lover of all good Learning, the Honourable *John Finch*, Esq.' is signed R. C., and says that the Poems are 'the work of a young Gentleman of 19 years of Age, who, had he lived, might have been as well the Wonder as the Delight of the Arts, and been advanced by them amongst the highest in the Temple of Fame.'

The prose address 'To the Reader' is also signed R. C., and contains a hit at Ben Jonson, which may identify its writer with the author of *Times' Whistle*, and the Satire against Jonson. Speaking of Bosworth and his work, R. C. says:

"The strength of his fancy, and the shadowing of it in words, he taketh from Mr Marlow in his *Hero* and *Leander*, whose mighty lines Mr *Benjamin Johnson* (*a man sensible enough of his own abilities*) was often heard to say, that they were Examples fitter for admiration than for parallel, you shall find our Author every where in this imitation."

With this compare

“He, though he had the murderous hand to spill
 Another’s blood, himself yet durst not kill,
 And was afraid of others. Whatever stirs
 He judgeth to be men and officers
 Come to attach him, and, his sight unstable,
 Takes every bush to be a constable.”—*T. Whistle*, p. 108.

The same idea occurs on p. 94 :—

“Each bush doth fright him, and each flying bird,
 Yea, his own shadow, maketh him afraid.”

Marston’s *Scourge of Villanie* was also familiar to our author :—

“Infectious blood, ye gouty humours, quake,
 Whilst my sharp razor doth incision make.”
Marston’s Works, iii. 274, ed. J. O. Halliwell.

“Let ulcer’d limbs and gouty humours quake
 Whilst with my pen I do incision make.”—*T. W.* 2/19, 20.

Marston has

“Camphire and lettuce chaste
 Are clean cashier’d, now sophi ringoes eat,
 Candi’d potatoes are Athenians meat.
 Hence, holy thistle, come sweet marrow pie,
 Inflame our backs to itchin luxury.
 A crab’s bak’d guts, a lobster’s butter’d thigh,
 I hear them swear is blood of venery.”—*Works*, iii. 257.¹

Compare with the above,

“Provocatives to stir up appetite
 To brutish lust and sensual delight
 Must not be wanting ; lobsters’ butter’d thighs,
 Artichoke, marrow-bone, potato-pies,
 Anchovies, lambs’ artificially drest stones,
 Fine jellies of decocted sparrows’ bones.
 Or if these fail, th’ apothecary’s trade
 Must furnish them with rarest marmalade,
 Candi’d ringoes and rich marchpane stuff.

With allegant, the blood of venery
 Which strengthens much the back’s infirmity.”²—*T. W.* p. 87.

¹ “Virginius vow’d to keep his maiden-head,
 And eats chaste lettuce, and drinks poppyseed,
 And smells on camphor fasting.”—Hall’s *Satires*, iv. 4.

“Lettuce seede being often vsed to be eaten a long space, drieth vp the natural seede, and putteth away the desire to Lecherie.”—Lyte’s *Dodocns*, f. 573 (1578).

² Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, ii. 1, has “Diving into the

Marlowe was charged with holding atheistical opinions, and it would almost seem that "R. C." had him in view in the opening of the first Satire. The lines

" Which by religion dost not set a straw,

Devis'd, thou think'st, but to keep fools in awe" (*T. W.* p. 5)

seem to be another form of one of the opinions "of one Christofer Marlye," namely, "That the first beginning of religion was only to keep men in awe."¹ Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* was published, in quarto, in 1604, and again in 1616. The *Times' Whistle*² contains a reference to the story of this Play, although it may be said the story was common enough for "R. C." to have got it elsewhere. The whole scene in which Faust cuts his arm, and writes the agreement with his blood, is too long for insertion here, an extract must suffice:—

" *Faust.* Lo, Mephistophilis, for love of thee,
I cut mine arm, and with my proper blood
Assure my soul to be great Lucifer's,
Chief lord and regent of perpetual night !
View here the blood that trickles from mine arm,
And let it be propitious for my wish.

Meph. But, Faustus, thou must
Write it in a manner of a deed of gift.

Faust. Ay, so I will. [Writes.] But, Mephistophilis,
My blood congeals, and I can write no more."

The mention of Tamburlaine³ will at once call the reader's mind to Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great*.

fat capons, drinking your rich wines, feeding on larks, sparrows, potato-pies, and such good unctuous meats."

Howel, writing from Alicant, says: "I have bin here now these three months, and most of my food have bin grapes and bread, with other roots, which have made me so fat, that I think if you saw me you would hardly know me, such nourriture these deep sanguin Alicant grapes give."—*Fam. Let.* p. 35, ed. 1678.

And John Taylor, *Works*, folio, 1630 (Spenser Society's Reprint): "The Taste plays the Bawd with both Art and Nature, and searcheth through the Earth, Seas, and Skies for variety of temptation; poore and innocent Lambstones, Potatoes, Eringoes, Crabs, Scallops, Lobsters, Wilkes, Cockles, Oysters, Anehoues and Cauare [Qy. Caucare], Cock-sparrowes, Coxcome-pyes, . . . doe waite upon the Taste."—f. 259.

" [He] eates more Lobsters, Artichokes, and Crabs,
Blew roasted Egges, Potatoes, Maskadine,
Oysters, and pith that growes i' th' Oxes Chine."—*Ib.* f. 509.

See also Howel's *Familiar Letters*, p. 215.

¹ See Dyce's *Marlowe*, p. 389.

² p. 53.

³ p. 25.

The Prologue to Hall's Satires has been partly quoted already, another portion of it may fitly come in here :—

“ Envy waits on my back, Truth on my side ;
 Envy will be my page, and Truth my guide.
 Envy the margent holds, and Truth the line :
 Truth doth approve, but Envy doth repine.
 For in this smoothing age who durst indite
 Hath made his pen an hired parasite,
 To claw the back of him that beastly lives,
 And pranck base men in proud superlatives.
 Whence damned Vice is shrouded quite from shame,
 And crown'd with Virtue's meed, immortal name !
 Infamy dispossess'd of native due,
 Ordain'd of old on looser life to sue :
 The world's eye-bleared with those shameless lies,
 Mask'd in the show of meal-mouth'd poesies.
 Go, daring Muse, on with thy thankless task,
 And do the ugly face of Vice unmask :
 And if thou canst not thine high flight remit,
 So as it might a lowly satire fit,
 Let lowly satires rise aloft to thee :
 Truth be thy speed, and Truth thy patron be.”

That a similar spirit to this animated “R. C.” may be seen by reading his introductory lines on the second page of this volume.

The references to Jonson's writings are numerous. Compare the Sordido in *Every Man out of his Humour*, with R. C.'s Sordido,¹ and especially Misotochus,² and the effect of fine clothes in the same Play,³ with the character of Moros⁴ and the closing lines of our author's second Satire,⁵ and it will be seen at once how closely they coincide. Carlo in this Play⁶ says, “ Love no man ; trust no man ; speak ill of no man to his face ; nor well of any man behind his back. Salute fairly on the front, and wish them hanged upon turn. Spread yourself upon his bosom publicly, whose heart you would eat in private. These be principles, think on them.”

And R. C.,

“ Another's mind by hate distempered is,
 Malicing whom in show he seems to kiss.
 This bare affection causeth dismal strife,
 Despoileth honour and destroyeth life.

¹ pp. 26, 27. ² p. 99. ³ Act ii. 1; iii. 3. ⁴ p. 28.
⁵ p. 30. ⁶ *Every Man, &c.*, iii. 1.

Yet in these days 'tis counted policy
 To use dissimulation ; villany
 Masked under friendship's title (worst of hate)
 Makes a man live secure and fortunate.

These mankind haters, bloody-minded slaves,
 Which all the world with horrid murders fill,
 Laughing on those whom they intend to kill.”¹

There is evidence too that *The Puritan* had been seen by the author, but it is only necessary to mention the fact.

I do not think any apology will be required for putting these *Satires* before the few scholars who are interested in the literature of the Shakesperean age. Some casual readers there may be, who will fail to see any advantage in having such books within reach—“precisions,” they are unwilling to have their senses polluted with the rough language and the pictures, drawn by contemporary hands, of the vices of their countrymen. For such these Satires are not published—they can pass by on the other side, and leave this book to its fate. It is too much the fashion now-a-days to shut our eyes to vice and crime and oppression ; to turn our faces from the dark and squalid portions of our cities, towns, and villages ; to endeavour to hide all the wickedness and misery under which so many groan, to drive them from the garish light of day, and, compelling them to lie in secret and avoid offending our eyes, to turn with self-righteous complacency to the world, and say, ‘See how bright and holy all things are ! Vice and misery are not seen in our streets, they do not exist. We manage things better now. A man may walk on the village green, in the beautiful country lanes, in the great streets of our great cities, and see nothing to offend the eye, hear nothing to grate upon the ear. Our writers tell us of nothing but what is pleasant,—of our advances in education, of the improvements which are made on every side.’ Yes, it is quite true. We don’t like to see vice and misery, we prefer to walk blindfold, and to be ignorant of such things ; but is not the difference between the vices of men two hundred and fifty years ago and the vices of men now, simply a difference of dress ? Then vices were clothed in

¹ p. 94.

fustian, and were not always hidden from the light ; now, we clothe them in broadcloths and silks, and indulge in them secretly.

I do not apprehend that any one reading these Satires will be the worse for the reading. They need no apology from me. If they do, then must all who have spent their talent on the Playwrights and Satirists of the time of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. have erred more deeply than I can have done. The whole Literature is tainted with a certain coarseness, and to condemn one writer is to condemn all. But let no man despise it and think it poor or bad because it is unlike our own. “It is refreshing to look out of ourselves sometimes, not always to be holding the glass to our own peerless perfections ; and as there is a dead wall which always intercepts the prospect of the future from our view (all that we can see beyond it is the heavens), it is as well to direct our eyes now and then without scorn to the page of history, and repulsed in our attempts to penetrate the secrets of the next six thousand years, not to turn our backs on *auld lang syne!*”¹ I do not apologize for adding to this literature. The reader must judge whether I have done well or ill, and by his judgment willingly I abide.

In this volume there is much that is interesting historically, such as the drinking scenes, the tobacco-smoking customs, the ale-house haunting on Sundays, the manner in which the Puritan was spoken of by the orthodox Churchman. These, and the hints illustrative of the atheism, infidelity, and apostasy which were common then (as well as now), give a value to the book which each reader will estimate for himself. Of the moral and religious tone which runs through the whole of it I cannot speak too highly. In our Dramatists and others this is too often overlaid, or lost altogether. Not so here. Is there a sin, a vice, a crime described ? the denunciation of its certain punishment is sure to follow, and that in terms so plain that they who run may read.

The preface to the minor poems in this volume is curious. What occurred to prevent the Satires “and this piece of poetry alsoe soe sodainlie thrust into the presse” from being given to the world, at present is a mystery, and will probably remain one

¹ W. Hazlitt; Lectures, &c.

for some time to come. Whether the “subsequent endeavours” spoken of ever came to anything is also unknown. The “judicious Catoes” and barking Monists of the time had had their fling at R. C.,¹ and had planted a thorn in his side. His retort calls to mind Ben Jonson’s lines :—

“ Perhaps, upon the rumour of their speeches,
 Some grieved friend will whisper to me ; Crites,
 Men speak ill of thee. So they be ill men,
 If they spake worse, ‘twere better : for of such
 To be dispraised, is the most perfect praise.
 What can his censure hurt me, whom the world
 Hath censured vile before me ? ”²

These poems display the fancies and beliefs which were common at the time they were written. Few of them are without interest of some kind, the best probably being that commencing on page 137.

Of the poetical merits of “R. C.” nothing need be said. The book is in the reader’s hands. Let it speak for its author. One extract must suffice here :—

“ Latro did act a damnèd villainy,
 Adding black murder to his robbery,
 Yet cause ‘twas closely done he might conceal it,
 For save himself none living could reveal it.
 But see the just revenge for this offence ;—
 After the deed, his guilty conscience
 Torturing his soul, enforc’d him still to think
 The act disclosed, and he in danger’s brink.
 He thought the birds still in their language said it ;
 He thought the whistling of the wind bewrayed it ;
 He called to mind that murder was forbidden,
 And though a while it could not long be hidden.
 Distract in mind, and fearfull in his place,
 Having no power to eall to God for grace,
 The devil doth suborne him to despair,
 Tells him ‘tis pity he should breath this air
 Which hath been such a villain ; thrusts him on
 To work his own death and confusion.
 He, though he had the murderous hand to spill
 Another’s blood, himself yet durst not kill,
 And was afraid of others. What e’er stirs
 He judgeth to be men, and officers

¹ See also the poem *In Momum*, p. 152.

² Cynthia’s Revels, iii. 2.

Come to attach him, and his sight unstable
Takes every bush to be a constable.
Thus plagued and tortured with despair and fear,
Out must the fact, he can no more forbear ;
For which, according to the course of law,
Death's heavy sentence on him he doth draw,
And being brought unto the place of death,
There in despair yields up his latest breath.

Thus each affection like a tyrant reigns
Over man's soul, which letteth loose the reins
Unto selfe will, in which so slavish state,
Man's sense captived, his reason subjugate,
Makes the soul clogg'd, a massy lump of sin,
Which following his creation should have been,
Like his Creator, pure."—T. W. p. 108.

I have taken no liberties with my MS. other than those explained in the footnotes. For the punctuation and the use of the hyphen in some of the compound words, as well as the use of Capital letters, I am answerable. I hope it will be found that I have avoided mistakes as much as it is possible to do, and I believe the reader may rest assured that every reading, and every word, which bears a peculiar look is as it stands in my original. I should have preferred to modernize the spelling throughout, but the laws of the E. E. T. S. allow of no such tampering with texts, and it is right they should not. Once begin, and the reader is never sure that his author's *ipsissima verba* are before him.

I have added to this brief introduction a few notes illustrative of the text, and at the end of the volume a glossary of words and phrases, which is intended not only to assist the general reader, but to save any future Lexicographer the trouble of wading through the volume for an example of the use of any word, phrase, or proverb. Of the use of proverbs and phrases these Satires contain many examples.

The most pleasing of my duties remains to be done. To thank the Dean¹ (too late, alas ! for him to hear) and Chapter of Canterbury for so generously placing the MS. in my hands to copy and use at my own home. And to express the many obligations under which I rest to the Rev. Canon Robertson, Librarian of the Canterbury

¹ Dr Alford.

Cathedral Library, to J. Payne Collier, J. O. Halliwell, W. Bodham Donne, F. J. Furnivall, W. Carew Hazlitt, and Dennis Hall, Esqrs., and my brother, B. Harris Cowper, who have been kind enough to read my proofs, and to afford me many valuable hints and suggestions, as well as to express their satisfaction that I had undertaken to see these Satires through the press.

JOSEPH M. COWPER.

Davington Hill, Fuversham,
March 21, 1871.

N O T E S.

Puritans and Puritanism. Page 4. At this day it is scarcely possible to conceive the amount of obloquy which was heaped upon these men. No vice was deemed too horrible for them to commit—they were in all things considered the very incarnation of hypocrisy. In spite of the oppressions under which they bowed they became, as our author says, so numerous that they encumbered the Church, and stuck as a disease within her bowels (p. 10). It is unnecessary to reproduce the taints and abuses which are scattered up and down the literature of this period. The reader curious in such matters will find enough in the works of Taylor the Water-Poet, Bp Corbet's *Poems*, *The Puritan*, and elsewhere.

As to their numbers we may quote Taylor: “Item, he told that there were a great many Puritans in England, and that they did now so disturb the quietness of the Commonwealth that it was now almost turned topsy-turvy.”—*The Liar*, 1641, p. 5.

Brownism. p. 4. Robert Brown, the founder of the Sect of Brownists, was born in 1549. He was educated at Cambridge, and, while a young man, obtained the mastership of the Free-School of St Olave's, Southwark, and became chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. In 1571 he was cited to appear before Parker to answer for his opinions. The influence of Norfolk saved him for this time. Subsequently Brown abandoned the views of the Puritans for those of the Separatists. For preaching against bishops and church ceremonies he asserted that he was committed to thirty-two prisons. Soon after 1580 he found it prudent to go to Holland, but in 1584 he was stirring up strife in Scotland. He returned to the Church of England, but not much to his or her credit, as the remainder of his life seems to have been spent at Achurch, near Oundle (the living of which he accepted as the price of his conformity), in idleness, occasionally varied by beating his wife, not “as his wife, but as a curst old woman.” For an almost contemporary account of him see Taylor's *Cluster of Coxcombes*, 1642.

Anabaptists. p. 9. (See Glossary.) The following is from Taylor's

account of *Anabaptists of these latter times* (pub. 1642): On the 29th April in the 32nd Henry VIII. one Mandeville and one Collins (both Anabaptists) were examined in St Margaret's Church at the Hill in Southwark, and there they were condemned and judged to be burnt as heretics, which was executed on them accordingly in the highway between Southwark and Newington.

In 1574 one man and ten women were judged to be burnt for being Anabaptists, but after much suit made, one woman recanted, and all the rest were banished. In the same year four carried faggots and did penance at Paul's Cross, and recanted, but two Dutchmen were burnt in Smithfield for being Anabaptists. "And in these our days the said Anabaptistical sect is exceeding rise, for they do swarm here and there without fear of either God or man, Law or order."—*A Cluster of Coxcombes* (1642), p. 4.

Howel "could be content to see an Anabaptist go to hell on a Brownist's back."—*Fam. Letters*, ed. 1678, p. 255a.

The Family of Love. p. 9. This sect, often called *Familists*, had its rise in Holland about the year 1550. Thirty years later the Familists appeared in England. They pretended to a more than ordinary sanctity. They asserted that none were of the number of the elect but such as were admitted into their family, and that all the rest were reprobate. They held that it was lawful for them to swear to an untruth before a magistrate or before any other person who was not of their society, for their own convenience. The originator of this sect was Henry Nicholas of Leyden, who made certain blasphemous pretensions that he partook of the Divinity of God. Their numerous books were ordered by Elizabeth to be burnt.¹

The Familists are often referred to in language far from complimentary.

Those who care to know in what estimation they were held by the orthodox may refer to Taylor's *A Bawd, The Virtue of a Jayle, etc.*, and his *Apology for Private Preaching*.

In 1574, five Englishmen of the sweet sect called The Family of Love did penance at Paul's Cross, and there confessed and detested their wicked and damnable heresies.—*A Cluster of Coxcombes* (1642), p. 4.

Amsterdam. p. 11. No place seems to have been held in such vile repute as Amsterdam. Of course the gossiping Howel has something to say about it. Writing from Amsterdam, in 1617, he says: "The ground here, which is all for the most part twixt marsh and moorish, lies not only level but to the apparent sight of the eye far lower than the sea, which made the Duke of Alva say that the inhabitants of this country were the nearest to hell (the great Abyss) of any people on Earth. One of the chiefest parts of his [the native's] Litany is From the Sea, the Spaniard, and the Devil, the Lord deliver me."—*Fam. Letters*, ed. 1678, p. 8.

Two years later he writes, "I am lodged in a Frenchman's house

¹ See Hook's *Ch. Diet.*

(at Amsterdam) who is one of the deacons of our English Brownists here ; 'tis not far from the Synagogue of the Jews, who have free and open exercise of their religion here. I believe in this street where I lodge there be well near as many religions as there be houses ; for one neighbour knows not, nor cares not much, what religion the other is of, so that the number of conventicles exceeds the number of churches here. The dog and rag Market is hard by, where every Sunday morning there is a kind of public mart for those commodities, notwithstanding their precise observance of the Sabbath."—*Ib.* p. 10.

“The pure reformed Amsterdammers,
Those faithful Friday feasting capon crammers.”

Taylor, Works, folio, 1630, f. 402 (Spenser Society's Rep.).

In his *Brood of Cormorants*, speaking of “A Separatist,” he writes :

“If in lesser room they may be cramm'd,
And live and die at *Amster* and be dam'd.”—*Works*, f. 485.

“Let Amsterdam send forth her brats,
Her fugitives and runagates ;
Let Bedlam, Newgate and the Clink
Disgorge themselves into this sink.”

A Poem on New England, *Ined. Misc.*, privately printed, 1870.

Sleeping in Church. p. 15.

“Men sleep in church, sure their brains are addle,
Sly Satan lulls them, and doth rock the cradle :
When men thus do no ill, 'tis understood,
The devil binders them from doing good.”—*Taylor, Works*, f. 351.

See also *News from Hell, Hull, and Halifax, etc.*, p. 46, and Howel's *Fam. Let.*, p. 255.

Sabbath customs. pp. 16, 19. See Crowley's Epigram of Alehouses (1550).

“**N**edes must we haue places for vitayls to be soldē,
for such as be sycke, pore, feble, and olde.
But, Lorde, to howe greate abuse they be growne !
In eche lyttle hamlet, vyllage, and towne,
They are become places of waste and excesse,
And harbour for such men as lyue in idlenes.
And lyghtly in the contrey they be placed so,
That they stande in mens waye when they shoulde to church go.
And then such as lone not to hear thyrs fautes tolde,
By the minister that readeth the newe Testament and olde,
do turne into the alehouse, and let the church go ;
Yea, and men accompted wyse and honeste do so.
But London (God be praySED) all men maye commende,
Whych doeth nowe this greate enormitic emende,
For in seruice tyme no dore standeth vp,
Where such men are wonte to fyll can and cuppe.

Wolde God in the countrey they woulde do the same,
 Either for Gods feare, or for worldly shame !
 How hallow they the Saboth, that do the tyme spende
 In drynkinge and idlenes tyll the daye be at an ende ?
 Not so well as he doeth, that goeth to the plowe,
 Or pitcheth vp the sheues from the carte to the mowe.
 But he doeth make holyc the Sabothe in dede,
 That heareth Goddes worde, and helpeth suche as nede."

And *Newes out of Powles Churchyard* (1577), Satyr 5 :—

“ Search Tauernes through, and typling bowres
 eche Saboth day at morne :
 And you shall thinke this gearre to be
 ene too too much forborene.

.
 What else but gaine and Money gote
 maintaines each Saboth day
 The bayting of the Beare and Bull ?
 What brings this brntish play ?
 What is the cause that it is born,
 and not controlled ought,
 Although the same of custome be
 on holy Saboth wrought ? ”

Stubbs (*Anatomie of Abuses*, p. 157, ed. 1836) thus writes of Sunday labour :—

“ If he were stoned for gathering a fewe stickes vpon the Sabbath daye, which in some cases might be lawful for necessities sake, and yet did it bnt once, what shal they be who all the Sabbath dayes of their life glie themselves to nothing els but to wallowe in all kinde of wickednesse and sinne, to the great contempt bothe of the Lord and his Sabbath ? And though thei haue played the lazie lurdens all the weeke before, yet that daie, of set purpose, they will toyle and labour, in contempt of the Lord and his Sabbath.”

The Mausolean Monument. p. 22. See *Taylor, Works*, f. 553 :—

“ The Tomb of Mansoll, King of Carea,
 Built by his Queen (kind Artemisia)
 So wondrous made by art and workmanship,
 That skill of man could never it outstrip :
 ‘Twas long in building, and it doth appear
 The charges of it full two millions were.” (!)

Fertile Kent. p. 26.

“ When as the pliant Muse, straight turning her about,
 And coming to the land as Medway goeth out,
 Saluting the dear soil, O famous Kent, quoth she,
 What country hath this isle that can compare with thee !
 Which hast within thy self as much as thou canst wish,
 Thy conies, venison, fruit, thy sorts of fowl and fish,

And what with strength comports, thy hay, thy corn, thy wood :
Nor any thing doth want that any where is good."

Drayton's *Polyolbion*, 1613.

"Kent

Is termed the civilest place of all this isle ;
Sweet is the country, because full of riches ;
The people liberal, valiant, active, wealthy."

2 K. Hen. VI. iv. 7.

Milk, a cosmetic. p. 36.

"Some I have heard of that have been so fine
To wash and bathe themselves in milk or wine,
Or else with whites of eggs their faces garnish,
Which makes them look like visors or new varnish."

Taylor, *Works*, f. 44.

Avarice. p. 41.

"The Earth is rip'd and bowel'd, rent and torn,
For gold and silver which by man is worn :
And sea and land are rak'd and search't and sought,
For jewels too far fetcht, and too dear bought."—Ib. f. 43.

Simony. pp. 43, 45. On this subject see Hall's *Satires*, ii. 5 :—

"Saw'st thou ever SI-QUIS patch'd on Paul's church door,
To seek some vacant vicarage before ?
Who wants a churchman, that can service say,
Read fast and fair his monthly homily ?
And wed and bury and make christen-souls ?
Come to the left-side alley of Saint Pauls.
Thou servile fool, why could'st thou not repair
To buy a benefice at Steeple-fair ?
There moghatest thou, for but a slender price,
Advowson thee with some fat benefice :

· · · · ·

A thousand patrons thither ready bring
Their new-fall'n churches to the chaffering ;
Stake three years' stipend ; no man asketh more :
Go take possession of the church-porch door,
And ring thy bells."

Bribery—Lawyers. pp. 42, 45—49.

"One here bewayles his wofull case
and wisheth him vnborne,
Another cryes with wringing handes,
alas, I am forlorne.
My sute thus long depended hath :
The Lawe is on my syde,
And yet in harde delayes I lye
true Indgement to abyde.

Another thus be friended is,
 The Judge doth loue him well
 And me (as poore and needie) they
 doo dayly thus depell
 Two hundredth myles and more I come :
 My Wife at home (alas)
 Lyes with my Children halfe forepynde :
 (O lamentable case.)
 My goods are spent, which labor brought,
 through long and carefull toyle :
 The Lawe hath lyekt vp all my wealth
 for which I dyd turmoyle."

Newes out of Powles, Sat. 2.

The whole Satire might be quoted. Hall (ii. 3) satirizes lawyers thus :—

"The crouching client, with low-bended knee,
 And many worships, and fair flattery,
 Tells on his tale as smoothly as him list,
 But still the lawyers eye squints on his fist ;
 If that seem lined with a larger fee,
 Doubt not the suit, the law is plain for thee."

Well-drest fools. p. 43. "It is a scurvy fashion of your devising that wise men in russet must reverence and stand bare to silken fools."—*News from Hell, Hull, and Hallfjace*, p. 51.

"Why, assure yon, signior, rich apparel has strange virtues: it makes him that hath it without means, esteemed for an excellent wit: he that enjoys it with means, puts the world in remembrance of his means: it helps the deformities of nature, and gives lustre to her beauties."—*Every Man out of his Hu.* ii. 1.

"Here, in the court, be a man ne'er so vile,
 In wit, in judgment, manners, or what else ;
 If he can purchase but a silken cover,
 He shall not only pass, but pass regarded :
 Whereas, let him be poor, and meanly clad,
 Though ne'er so richly parted, you shall have
 A fellow that knows nothing but his beef,
 Or how to rinse his clammy guts in beer
 Will take him by the shoulders, or the throat
 And kick him down the stairs. Such is the state
 Of virtue in bad clothes ! ha, ha, ha, ha !
 That raiment should be in such high request."—*Ib.* iii. 3.

Fairies. p. 53.

"Gert. Good Lord, that there are no fairies now-a-days. Syn.

Syn. Why, Madam ?

Gert. To do miraels and bring ladies money."

1605. *Eastward Hoe*, v. i.

" Wash your pails and cleanse your dairies,
 Sluts are loathsome to the Fairies :
 Sweep your house, who doth not so
 Mab will pinch her by the toe."—Herrick's *Hesperides*.

" Grant that the sweet Fairies may nightly put money in your shoes,
 and sweep your house clean."—Holiday's *Marriages of the Arts*.

" Farewell rewards and Faeries,
 Good houswives now may say,
 For now foule sluttis in daries
 Doe fare as well as they.
 And though they sweepe theyr hearths no less
 Then maydes were wont to doe,
 Yet who of late for cleaneliness,
 Finds sixe-pence in her shoe ? "—Corbet's *Poems*, p. 213.

For more information on the subject of Fairies the reader is referred to Brand's *Pop. Antiq.*, edited by W. C. Hazlitt, 1870.

Gluttony. p. 55.

" This day, my Lorde his speciall friende
 must dyne with him (no naye)
 His Partners, Friendes and Aldermen :
 Wherfore he must purnaye
 Both Capon, Swan, and Hernshoe good,
 fat Bitture, Larkke and Quayle :
 Right Plouer, Snype, and Woodcock fine
 with Curlew, Wype and Rayle :
 Stonetiucts, Teale, and Peeteales good,
 with Busterd fat and plum,
 Fat Pheasantt Powt, and Plouer base
 for them that after come.
 Stent, Stockard, Stampine, Täterueale,
 and Wigeon of the best :
 Puyt, Partrich, Blackebirde and
 fat Shoueler with the rest.
 Two Warrants eke he must prouide
 To haue some Venson fat,
 And meanes héele make for red Déere too,
 (there is no nay to that.)
 And néedefully he must prouide
 (althougn we speake not ont)
 Both Peacock, Crane, and Turkieock,
 and (as such men are wont)
 He must foresee that he ne lacke
 colde bakemeates in the ende ;
 With Custards, Tarts, and Florentines,
 the bancquet to amende.

And (to be short and knit it vp)
 he must not wanting sée
 Straunge kindes of fysh at second course
 to come in their degréé.
 As Porpesse, Scale and Salmon good,
 with Sturgeon of the best
 And Turbot, Lobster, with the lyke
 to furnish out the feast.
 All this theyle haue, and else much more,
 sydes Marchpane and gréene chéese,
 Stewde wardens, Prunes, & sweete conserues
 with spiced Wine like Lées :
 Gréeneginger, Sucket, Suger Plate,
 and Marmaladie fine :
 Blauncht Almonds, Peares and Ginger bread.
 But Peares should we assigne
 And place before (as meeete it is)
 at great mens boordes : for why,
 Raw fruities are first in service styl,
 Else Seruing men doo lye."

Newes out of Powles, Sat. 4.

To the above add the following :—“ And nowadays if the table be not covered from the one end to the other, as thick as one dish can stand by another, with delicate meat of sundry sorts, one clean different from another, and to every dish a several sauce appropriate to his kind, it is thought there unworthy the name of a dinner. And these many shall you have at the first course, as many at the second ; and, peradventure, more at the third ; besides other sweet condiments, and delicate confections of spiceries, and I cannot tell what. And to these dainties, all kinds of wines are not wanting, you may be sure.”—*Anat. of Abuses*, p. 107.

Drunkenness. p. 57. Drunkenness “ is a horrible vice and too too much used in Ailgna (Anglia) ; every county, city, town, village, and other places, hath abundance of ale-houses, taverns, and inns, which are so fraught with maltworms, night and day, that you would wonder to see them. You shall have them there sitting at the wine and good-ale all the day long, yea, all the night long too, peradventure a whole week together, so long as any money is left, swilling, gulling and carousing from one to another, till never a one can speak a ready word.”—*Anat. of Abuses*, pp. 113, 114.

King Harry's Gold. p. 61. The gold coins issued by Henry VIII. were sovereigns, half sovereigns, rose nobles, and George nobles, angels, crowns, and half-crowns. See Humphrey's *Coin Collector's Manual*, p. 451, ed. 1853.

Tobacco. pp. 70—72. Tobacco seems to have been a common road to ruin :

"Tobacco robs some men, if so it list,
It steals their coin (as thieves do) in a mist."

Taylor, Works, f. 279.

"Too many there are that pass the bounds of liberality, and spend most prodigally on (the devil of India) Tobacco."—*Ib.* f. 336.

"Mischief or mischances seldom come alone: and it is a doubtfull question, whether the devil brought *Tobacco* into England in a *Coach*, or else brought a coach in a fog or mist of *Tobacco*."—*Ib.* f. 378.

Every thing that can possibly be said against *Tobacco* may be seen in *A Proclamation* (*Taylor*, ff. 251—253). It is too long for insertion here. The phrase *to drink* (inhale) *tobacco* was common. "He drank colt's-foot among his tobacco." *Taylor*, f. 358. Is this a practice now? I remember my father was in the habit of mixing colt's-foot with his tobacco thirty years ago. In Davies's *Epigrams* which appeared about 1598, one (xxxvi.) is in *praise* of tobacco.

Pickt-hatch, the Spittle and Turnbull street. p. 80.

"Old Bembus of Picket-hatch,
That plunging through the Sea of Turnbull Street,
He safely did arrive at Smithfield Bars."—*Taylor, Works*, f. 164.

"Sometimes [she] is in the full at Picket-hatch and sometimes in the wane at Bridewell."—*Ib.* f. 257.

"Turnbull street poor bawds."—*Ib.* f. 253.

"Did ever any man ere heare him talke
But of Pick-hatch, or of some Shoreditch baulke?"

Scourge of Villanie, iii. 305.

The *Spittle*, St Bartholomew's.

Dancing. p. 85. Stubs, in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, on 'The Horrible Vice of Pestiferous Dauncing used in Ailgna,' says: "Dauncing, as it is vsed (or rather abused) in these daies, is an introduction to whordome, a preparatiue to wantonnesse, a prouocatiue to vncleannessse, and an introite to all kinde of lewdnesse, rather then a pleasant exercise to the minde, or a wholesome practise for the bodie (as some list to calle it): . . . say they, it induceth loue: so say I also; but what loue? truely a lustfull loue, a venrous loue, a concupiscencious, bawdie, and beastiall loue, such as proceedeth from the stinking pump and lothsome sinck of carnall affection and fleshly appetite" (pp. 179, 182, ed. 1585, reprint of 1836).

Bread made of Peas. p. 99. "Do we not see the poor man that eateth brown bread (whereof some is made of rye, barley, peason, beans, oats, and such other gross grains) and drinketh small drinck, yea, sometimes water, [and] feedeth upon milk, butter, and cheese."—*Anat. of Abuses*, p. 112.

"My house and I can feed on peas and barley."

Every M. out of his Hu. i. 1.

Wapping. p. 118. Pirates were commonly executed at Wapping.

"I haue seene many of these Prowling fisher-men end their lines like Swans (in a manner singing) and sometimes making their wills at Wapping, or looking through a hempen window at St. Thomas Waterings."
—*Taylor, Works*, f. 87.

"By Wapping, where as hang'd drown'd Pirats dye."—*Ib.* f. 181.

"Thus much I mildly write in hope 'twill mend thee ;
If not, the Thames or Wapping shore will end thee."—*Ib.* f. 316.

In Henry the VIII.'s time a place called "the Willows" was used for this purpose :—"And this yere was hongyd at the Wyllow by the Temse syde Woolfe and hys wyfle, for kyllynge of two Lumberttes in a bote on the Temse."—*Grey Friars Chron.* p. 37.

Corbet's Song. p. xv. I know not how this song came to be attributed to Corbet. It occurs in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, Act ii., and may be found in Hawkins's *Origin of the English Drama*, vol. i. 1773; in Dodsley's *Old Plays*, vol. ii. 1825; and in Hazlitt's *Lectures on the English Drama*, p. 197, ed. 1840. The Comedy of *Gammer Gurton's Needle* has been attributed to John Still, who died Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1607; and to Nicholas Udal, who died in 1557. It is not likely that Corbet wrote the song, but I give it here notwithstanding.

Baek and syde go bare, go bare,
booth foote and hande go colde :
But belley, God sende thee Good ale ynoughie,
whether it be newe or olde.

I Can not eate, but lytle meat,
my stomacke is not good ;
But sure I thinke, that I can drynk
with him that weares a hood.
Thoughe I go bare, take ye no care,
I am nothinge a colde ;
I stuffe my skyn so full within,
of joly good ale and olde.
Baek and syde go bare, go bare,
booth foote and hand go colde :
Bnt belly, God send the good ale inoughie,
whether it be new or olde.

I love no rost, but a nut-brown toste,
and a crab layde in the fyre,
A lytle bread shall do me stead,
much breade I not desyre.
No froste nor snow, no winde, I trow,
ean hurte mee, if I wolde,
I am so wrapt, and throwly lapt
of joly good ale and olde.
Baek and side go bare, &c.

And Tyb my wyfe, that as her life
 loveth well good ale to seeke,
Full ofte drinkes shee, tyll ye may see
 the teares run down her cheekes ;
Then dooth she trowle to mee the bowle,
 even as a mault worme shuld ;
And sayth, sweet hart, I tooke my part
 of this joly good ale and olde.
 Back and side go bare, &c.

Now let them drynke, tyll they nod and winke,
 even as good felowes shoulde do,
They shall not mysse to have the blisse
 good ale doth bringe men to :
And all poor soules that have scowred boules,
 or have them lustely trolde,
God save the lyves of them and their wyves
 whether they be yonge or olde.
 Back and side go bare, &c.

¹ Epigrammi Satiron.

Septem compacta cicutis
Fistula.²

The Times Whistle ; or a newe Daunce³
of seven Satires : whervnto are annexed
divers other Poems comprising Things
naturall, morall, & theologicall. Compiled
by [R. C.] Gent.

Parturit, assiduo si non renovetur aratro,
Non nisi cum spinis, gramina mundus ager.

Ad Lectorem.

Reader, if thou expect to find in this booke either
affectation of poetical stile, or roughnesse of vnhewen
invention, which amongst many is of moste estimation,
being

[*Remainder cut off.*]

¹ leaf 1.

² Virg. Ecl. 2. 36.

³ Cf. "The Letting of Hymovrs Blood in the Head-Vaine.
With a new Morisco, daunced by seauen Satyres," etc.
London, 1600.

[leaf 1, back]

I am sent from
Nemesis to
punish the sins

and expose the
vices of this age,

which is very
corrupt, and
needs severe
remedies.

Epigrammatiron.

From the Rhamnusian godesse am I sent,
On sinne t' inflict deserved punnishment
All-seeing sunne, lend me thy searching eye,
That I may finde and scourge impietie, 4
And pull from vice, which hath beguilèd sence,
Disguisid' like vertue, brasse fac'd' impudence.
For now this age, this worse then iron age,
This sincke of synne, this map of hell, this stage 8
Of all vncleannessse, whose disease is ease,
Wallowing in worlds of pleasure, swallowing seas
Of sensuall delights, is whollie growne
A huge impostume of corruption, 12
Whose swelling tumor (well I am assur'de)
Must needs be launc'd, or ne'er will be recurde :
To the which act¹ my genius prompteth me,
Though it passe Æsculapian surgerie. 16
Be stout my heart, my hand be firm and steady,
Strike, and strike home, the vaine worlds veine is ready ;
Let vleerd limbes and gowtie humours quake,
Whilst with my pen I doe incision make.² 20

[leaf 2]

Ad Rithmum.

Fear not, my
verse, the
punishments
which are pre-
pared for truth,

or the spies

March forth, and boldly march, my tel troth rimes,
Disclose the lewdnesse of these looser times ;
Fear not the frowne of grim authority,
Or stab of truth-abhorring villanie ; 24
Fear not the olde accustomèd reward,
A loathsome prison still for truth preparde ;
Though many hundred (Argus hundred) eyes,
View, and review, each line, each word, as spies, 28

¹ art crossed out, and act written over.

² A line is drawn here : the lower half of the leaf is cut off.

Your meaning to entrap¹ by wrong construction,
 Vndaunted speake the truth ; let not detraction
 Apall your courage ; spite of iniurie,
 Tell to the world her base enormities.

which will mis-
 construe your
 meaning.

32

A Ioue principium Musæ.²

When first I did intend to write 'gainst sinne,
 My Muse was in suspence how to beginne ;
 What crime to put i' th' forefront of my booke,
 Not through defect (let me not be mistooke)
 Of number, for the world abounds in vice,
 But 'cause 'twas somewhat hard to breake the ice
 To any ; but at last methought 'twas fitt
 First to inveigh 'gainst those that doe committ
 The greatestt offences ; whom I tooke to be
 Our Ath[e]lists, which striue to roote vp the tree
 Of true religion : by these reasons movd :—
 First, that this sinne might be from vs remov'd ;
 Without the which, it were in vain to taxe
 Other offences, of what note or sexe
 Soever ; next, because this kinde of men
 Doth most dishoner God ; and lastly, when
 All that we are is his, from whom alone
 We doe all good deriuie, when every one
 Moues by his power, lives by his permission,
 And can doe nothing if the prohibition
 Of the Almighty doe oppugne ; it lies
 Only in him to end each enterprise.
 These things concurring, I my selfe did fitt
 To vse the inchoation of my witte
 First in his cause, by whose direction
 I hope to bring the rest vnto perfection.

At first I knew
 not on what
 subject to
 commence,

36

40

but I thought I
 would begin with
 atheists who
 commit the worst
 offences.

44

48

52

God only can
 bring my enter-
 prize to per-
 fection.

56

¹ rap not clear in MS.

² Virg. Ecl. 3. 60.

[leaf 2, back]

Satira 1.

[AGAINST THE ATHEISTS, SABBATH-BREAKERS, ETC.]

ARGUMENTUM.

Regnat in humanis diuina potentia rebus,
 Non ex naturae vi generatur homo.
 Quid deus, et cui fini animal ratione creatum
 Est pietas, est in religione scelus.

The atheist will
 one day find a
 God who can
 punish sin.

The atheist was
 brought into the
 world by the
 devil.

Schism, Puritan-
 ism, Brownism,
 and Papistry,
 take their rise
 from atheism.

Atheos ! forbear to speake such blasphemie !
 “There is noe God,” O, damnd impiety !
 Yes, wicked villaine, thou shalt one day finde,
 With horror of a selfe-tormenting minde, 4
 A God, though long it be ere he begin,
 That can and will severely chastise sinne.
 Thou execrable monster, hatchd in hell,
 Brought by a crew of devills heer to dwell 8
 A plague one earth, why hast thou thus bewitcht
 With thy contagion mindes that are enricht
 With gifts of nature aboue common ranke ?
 Who with *the poysone that* from thee they dranke 12
 Envenom’d, wound themselues, and others harme
 With strange opinions, which in heapes doe swarme
 From their ill-judging thoughts ; for heresie,
 Scisme, Puritanisme, Brownisme, pa[pi]strie, 16
 And such like hydra-headed errors, all
 Proceed from thee, thou art the principall ;

- Thou which wilt never graunt a Diety,
Vnlesse it be in poynt of pollicie, 20
Which by religion dost not set a strawe,
Devisde, thou thinkst, but to keep fooles in awe ;
Which makest a moneking-stock of hell and devill,
Not in contempt of them, that they are evill, 24
But 'cause thou vainly dost thyselfe perswade,
Such toyes as these, such bugbears, were first made
On purpose to fright children. Instantlie
The soule thou thinkst doth with the bodie dye. 28
Nature cannot immortalize a man,
'Tis true indeed, but heavenly powers can.
- “That ther are no such things” (saist thou) “this age,
This vicious age, confirmes ; what need I wage 32
Other contentious arguments, when I
By this alone can proue noe Dietie ?
- Were there a God, sinne would not flourish thus,
Neither would vertue (as it is) by vs 36
Be trodden vnder foote. For ought I see
The lewdest persons thriue best, and are free
From punnishment for sinne ; besides all this,
They that doe worship God doe often misse
The blessings of the world & suffer griefe ;
Yet ther is none can giue to them relief.
They often fall in danger & mischance,
Yet never finde a full deliverance. 40
- Were there a God, sure then he would defend
His children still, which wholly doe depend
Vppon his mercy, & vpon them spread
His blessings in abundance : on the head 48
Of the vngodly, there alon should fall
His curses, crosses, punnishments ; but all
The righteous should escape.” Peace, impious elfe !
- All thou hast saide is clean against thy selfe. 52
High Ioue permits the sunne to east his beames,
And the moyst cloudes to dropdownne plenteous streames,

The atheist
thinks religion
was devised to
frighten children,

and that the soul
dies with the
body.

He says if there
were a God sin
would not
flourish as it
[leaf 3]
does,

while the good
suffer many
things without
help from Him.

44

48

52 But these things
tell against the
atheist,

while in eternity
they will be a
cause of honour
to the good.

The wicked may
flourish now,
but they will go
to hell in the end.

The righteous
will shine as the
stars and enjoy
perpetual rest
in heaven.

[leaf 3, back]

God's Word
must bring men
to confess Him.

Two parts con-
join to make a
perfect man—
soul and body.

- Alike vpon the just & reprobate,
Yet are not both subjected by one fate? 56
- The sunnes kinde heat, heavens fruitfull distillation,
Shall be a cause of greater condemnation
To the vngodlie ; but vnto *the* just,
(As gracious blessings which he doth entrust 60
Vnto his children) they well vsd' shall be
A cause of honour in eternity.
- Well may the wicked flourish in this world,
But there will come a time they shall be hurld 64
From top of all their pleasures eminence,
And hell shalbe their place of residence.
Then shall the righteous shine like glorious starres
Within the sphear of heaven ; oppressions, warres, 68
Afflictions, persecutions, iniuries,
Hatred, contempt, & all calamities
Shall be a crowne of honour to invest
Their then trivmphant browes ; eternall rest, 72
Perpetuall joy, subiect to no mischance,
Shalbe their portion & inheritance.
- But against him that makes negation
Of principles in art, no disputation 76
Is to be held : deny God, & his Word
Can smale impression make ; it is the sword
Of justice which must bring thee to confesse
The powerfull Godhead ; yet I'le somewhat presse 80
Thy irreligious minde. Of thy creation
Take but a true consideration ;
For 'tis not Nature, as thou dost surmise,
That begets man in soule & qualities. 84
- For thou must know, two parts must first conjoyne
Before we can a perfect man define ;
The soule, an essence intellectuall,
The body, a substance corporeall ; 88
The first we immediatly receive
From Iove ; the other God to man doth leue

(As a subordinat instrument)

To generat ; 'tis onlie incident

92

To man, to cause the bodies procreation ;

The soule's infusde by heavenly operation.

Looke on this with an intellectuall eye,

And it will teach thee ther's a Diety.

View but the earth, which doth each year renew

Her drouping beauty, & clean change her hiew

Vpon the Springs approch ; doth it not shew

A supream Power, that governs things belowe ? 100

Looke on the heavens (which thou shalt ne're ascend,

Vnlesse it be with horrour to attend

Thie sentence of damnation ;) looke, I say,

Doth not their goodly opifice display

A power 'bove Nature ? Dull conceited foole,

Ne'er trainèd vp but in dame Natures schoole,

Looke in thy selfe, when thou committst a sinne,

Doth not thy conscience prick thy soule wthin ?

If that ther be no God, what dost thou fear ?

Why doth remorse of conscience, or dispaire,

Afflict thee thus ? This is enough to prove

(Were there no more) an Elohim, a Iove.

How canst thou then thus impiously deny

The sacred essence of the Diety ?

Recant this errorr, least, to all mens wonder,

Revengefull Iove doe strike thee dead wth thunder.

Being once granted (this our true position)

117

Ther is a God ; let's now make inquisition

Consider what
God is.

What this God is ; which must be by relation

120

Vnto his workes, or else by meer negation

Of what he is not, we may make collection

Of what he is. It is the times infection

It is the fashion
now to be over[To b]¹e to curious in the mistery

curious in

Of searching his essentialitie,

searching into

Which simple, as too glorious for the eye

[leaf 4]

124
the Divine Being.¹ MS. worn off.

- Of mortall vnderstanding to deserue,
 We cannot comprehend ; let 's therfore know him
 In that sort onlie that the Scriptures shew him. 128
- God is an intellectuall Essence,**
omnipotent, omniscient, and
always true.
- God is an Essence intellectuall,
 A perfect Substance incorporeall ;
 A Spirit whose being ne're begining knew,
 Omnipotent, omniscient, ever true ; 132
 Or rather, in the abstract :—Majestie,
 Truth, mercy, wisdome, power, iustice, glorie ;
 Which out of nothing this great world did frame,
 And into nothing will rechange the same ; 136
 Which made that glorious eye of heaven, *the sunne*
 To rule the day, and for darke night *the moone* ;
 Which joynes in friendly league each element,
 And keeps the sea within his continent ; 140
 Which of the dust mans body did create,
 Into the which a soule he did translate,
 Like his owne image pure ; vntill mans fall,
 Left to his owne free-will, polluted all 144
 That goodly microcosme ; for the which deed,
 Had not the issue of the promisde seed,
 The valiant Lion of stout Iudahs tribe,
 The gentle Lambe vngentlie crucified, 148
 Redemeed his life, borne his iniquity,
 And conquerd Satan & his tyrannie,
 He should haue been severely punnished
 And everlastinglie haue perished. 152
- He created man out of the dust**
and left him to his own free will.
- But now by him, all that make oblation
 Of a true faith, assure their soules salvation ;
 What the first Adam did by sinne destroy,
 The Second hath restorde with duble ioye. 156
- But leaving this moste heavenly meditation,
 Let 's shew for what effect was mans creation :
 It was, it is, to serve this God alone,
 With honour, loue, & true devotion. 160
 The manner how were somewhat long to write,

Christ redeemed man from everlasting punishment, and restored what Adam lost.

Man was created to serve, honour, and love his Maker.

The Scripture all his precepts doth recite.

Which, cause we cannot in all parts fulfill,
In liew of power he doth except our will.

164

Man strives
against God and
tries to pull Him
from His throne.
[leaf 4, back]

But man, vngratefull man, this God withstandes,
And, like Briareus with his hundred handes,
Strives, as it were, to pull him from his throne
Which gave him being, & through whom alone
He his well-being has. O, impious deed,
Which to recount my very heart doth bleed !

168

That wee (like to those giants, which made warre
Against the heavens) with such presumption dare
Lift vp our selues against our Maker by
So many kinde¹ of damnd impietie,

172

Like the fabled
giants, we lift up
ourselves against
our Maker.

So many hellish sinnes, whose hideous ery
Percing the clowdes, mounting aboue the skie,
Affront Gods power, & doe deserve to finde
Another Deluge to destroy mankinde.

176

By our sins we
affront HIm and
deserve a second
deluge to destroy
us.

But God, this gracious God, with mercie strives
To bring vs to him & to saue our lives ;

180

And therfore hath chalkd out a ready way,
(That we no more might goe so farre astray)
His Gospell ; which path (if not trod amisse)
Will safelie bring vs to celestiall blisse.
This profferd grace some see not, some despise,
Although herein alone their safetic lies.

184

He sent the
Gospel to guide
us to bliss,
but while some
see it not
others despise it.

Omitting Iewish superstition

With soule-profaning Turkish Alcheron,

188

And Infidels, which noe religion vse,

Whose ignorance cannot their sinne excuse :

We that doe boast of Christianity,

And knowledge in Gods holie misterie,

With sects & scismes our religion

Have made a chaos of confusion.

Our Anabaptists I will set aside,

With Families of Love, whose aimes are wide

192

We who boast of
our Christianity
have made a
chaos of our
religion by our
sects.

196

¹ MS. tinde

From the true faith. There is a trinall kinde
Of seeming good religion, yet I finde
But one to be embrac'd, which must be drawne
From Papist, Protestant, or Puritane.

200

I will speak first
of the Puritans
who have become
very numerous,

And first to speake of that pure seeming sect,
Which now of late beginneth to infect

204

The body of our land :—This kinde of men
Is strangelie (for I know not how nor when)

and cumber the
Church, sticking
as a disease
within her
bowels.

Become so populous, that wth the number,

But more with new devises, it doth cumber

Our Catholique Church, & sticks as a disease

Within her bowels ; whilst it seems to please

208

With fainèd habite of true holinesse

Which is indeed the worst of wickednesse.

leaf 51

The thought of this hath set my Muse one fire,

212

And I must rage e're I can swage mine ire.

You hypocriticall precisians,

Of their apparent
sanctity they
make a cloke to
hide their
villany.

By vulgar phrase entitled Puritanes,

216

Which make of superficiall sanctitie

A cloke, to hide your inbred villanie ;

You soules-seducers vnto worst of evils,

You seeming saints & yet incarnat devils,

How dare ye slander our religion,

And make a scoffe at our devotion ?

220

How dare you with opprobrious wordes revile,

Or with vnhalloved actions thus defile

They revile the
sacred orders of
the Church ;

The sacred orders which our Church doth hold,

224

And sanctimonious eustomes, which of olde

Haue by grave counsels, to a godlie end,

Not superstition, as you doe pretend,

Been instituted ? Cease your open wrongs !

Cannot our Bishops scape your slanderous tongues ?

even the bishops
cannot escape
their slanderous
tongues.

No : you maligne their great authoritie,

229

Because they doe search out your villanie.

You must haue private meetings ! To what end ?

In bellie-cheer and lust your time to spend.

232

- O rare devotion & strange holinesse,
Which endes in soule polluting beastliness !
- Well may you blinde the eyes of common sence,
And passe for men of zeale & confidence 236
- 'Mongst simple worldlings, which by outward shew
Doth judge the inward man ; but God doth know
All your intents, & with severity
Will castigate your damnd hypocrisie. 240
- In the mean time may you be forced to dwell
At Amsterdam, or else sent quicke to hell.
Till then may they go to Amsterdam, or hell.
- For now my Muse doth hear another motion ;—
“ Ignorance is the mother of devotion ! ” 244
- Erroneous papist, hast soe litle grace ?
Thou knowst 'tis false, then how, or with what face
Canst thou maintaine against thy conscience
So manyfest an erro're without sence ? 248
- For how can he be good that knowes no cause
Whie he is good, but like a milhorse drawes,
Blindfolded, in a circle ? Yet you teach
(For to the learnèd I addresse my speech) 252
- Religion in an vnknowne tongue to those
Whom we call common people ; I suppose,
Nay trulie may averre, you doe conceale
Your misteries, not daring them reveale, 256
- Lest that the people, knowing them for lies,
Should contemne you & hate your heresies :
You that are worse then cannibals by oddes,
For they devoure but men, you eat the gods ! 260
- From whom doe you assume authoritie
To pardon capitall iniquity ?
They are worse than cannibals, who only eat men, while the papists eat the gods.
- Why, not from God, the Pope 's sufficient
To pardon sinne & divert punishment. 264
- Who taught you soe, you wilfully blinde fooles ?
Sure Satan read this lecture in his schooles.
- Wher did you learne ? (was 't in the Devils booke ?
For from Gods word I 'me sure you never tooke 268
- Where did they learn that it is lawful to murder princes ?

- Such damnable positions) that to murder
 A prince, which doth not your religion furder,
 Is a moste lawfull act, yea commendable,
 For which you will at any time enable 272
 That man with your best benediction,
 And all his sinnes free absolution,
 And warrantize him heaven & happie day :
 (“A warrant seald with butter!” as we say). 276
 All this, & more then this, you will performe,
 Be’t to the meanest abject, basest worme,
 That dares attempt soe horrible a deed.
 And though his enterprise doe not succeed, 280
 (As God forbid it should) but he doe die
 For his lewd treason, he shall instantlie
 Be canonizd a Saint. Ravilliacke
 Doth neither *Saints* nor *Martires* title lacke. 284
 But you had reason : his vnhappy hand
 Destroyde a kinge,¹ & almost brought a land
 To vtter ruin ; for being thus defilde
 With her owne princes blood, a tender childe 288
 Was to succeed, & we know Scriptures say,
 “Woe to those landes whose scepters children sway.”
 But Faux & his confederats² are enrolde
 For blessed *Saints* among you.—Who will holde 292
 Your piety authenticall, which makes
 Such hell-houndes *Saints*? What godly heart not quakes
 To hear such mischiefe, to record such evill,
 As they would haue committed? The grand Devill
 Was their instricter sure, else could they not 297
 Haue once devisde soe damnable a plott,
 As by one blast our king to ruinat,
 And our whole kingdome to depopulate, 300

¹ MS. kinde.

² Garnet and Oldeorn are set down as “martyrs” in an “Apologia” published at Cologne in 1610, written by A. E. Ioannes Cydonius, who justifies the killing of heretic kings. Others at that time did the same.

The man who
attempts the
murder of a
prince

is canonized,
as was Ravailiac
for the murder
of Henry IV. of
France, May 14,
1610,

and Fawkes for
his attempt on
our King and
Parliament in
1605.

The devil only
could have put
such a plot into
a man’s head.

And spoile of her best treasure. But high Iove,
 Against whose power in vaine their forces strove,
 Crost their designes, & with a mighty arme
 Delivered vs from the pernicious harme
 Of that moste eminent danger ; to whose Name
 All praise & all thanksgiving for the same
 We doe ascribe ; beseeching him to blesse
 Our realme from you & your accomplices.
 But to proceed : no man may kill his prince
 Although a tyrant ; which I could evince
 By arguments drawne from the word of God,
 But I too long one this haue made abode.

Besides your errour I soe plaine repute,
 As needs noe disputation to confute,
 There are more errours of especiall note,
 Which, if I list recite, I heer could cote ;
 But I doe leave them for the learned pen
 Of great divines and more iudicious men.
 Your holy water, purgatorie, bulles,
 Wherwith you make the common people gulles,
 Are grosse abuses of phantastique braines
 Subillie devis'de only for private gaines,
 Which you pull from the simple as you list,
 Keeping them blinded in black errors mist ;
 And from the truth doe lead them clean astray,
 Whilst of their substance you doe make your prey.

You false impostors of blinde ignorance,
 Think you to 'scape eternall vengeance ?
 'Tis not your Popes fond dispensation,
 Your workes of supererogation,
 Your idle crossings, or your wearing haire
 Next to your skin, or all your whipping-cheer,
 Your praiers & pilgrimage to *Saints*, your pixes,
 Your holy reliques, beads, & crucifixes,
 Your masses, Ave Maries, images,
 Dirges, & such like idle fantasies

[leaf 6]
 304 But God delivered us from the danger,
 for which we give Him thanks.

308
 No man may kill his king, as might be proved from the Bible.

312
 316 Besides this error, the Church of Rome has many others :—

320 Holy water, Purgatory, and bulls,

324 which are devised for private gain.

328 The Pope's dispensation, works of supererogation, wearing of hair, whippings, pilgrimages, pixes, reliques, beads, masses, images, 332 and such idle fancies,

Of superstitiously polluted Rome,
cannot save men's souls.

Between the schismatic and the Romanist is the Church of England.

But its zeal is cold, choked with thorns, and polluted.

[leaf 6, back]
Yet the gospel displays its light over all our land.

The proud, the greedy, and the sensual hate the gospel.

Many say they can pray at home when they want to pray.

Some hold our Church to be too papistical.

Can save your soules in that great day of doome.

Between these sects, as in a golden meane,
Stands the religion whervnto we leane ; 340

Vndoubted truth it is that we doe holde,
Yet is our zeale so frozen & so colde,
So chockt with thornes of covetous desire,
So hoggishlie polluted with the mire 344

Of carnall lusts, that our best sanctity
Is but a kinde of bastard piety.

And yet the times as now did ne're afford
Such plenty of dispencers of Gods word ; 348

For now the Gospell, like the midday sunne,
Displaies his beames over all Albion.

But we, as if by too much light strucke blinde,
Neglect this meanes of grace, which is assignd 352
For our soules health. Some out of pride contemne it,
Others, bent vnto greedy gaine, condemne it,

Because it speakes against the slavish vice
Of soule-bewitching, sordid avarice. 356

Others, that follow Epicureus fashion,
Cannot abide to hear of reformation,
And therfore hate the Gospell, which doth cry
Against their brutish sensuality. 360

Many there are which live like libertines,
And the holy C[h]urch & good devinges
Doe hold ridiculous ;—their homely homes
Will serve them well enough to pray, when 't comes 365
Into their fancies ; they cannot abide

Vnto Church orders strictlie to be tide.
Others, forsooth, will haue a congregacion,
But that must be after another fashion 368

Then our Church doth allow,—no church at all,—
For that they say is too papisticall ;
Like¹ their profession, they themselves will sever

¹ MS. Likes.

- | | | |
|---|-----|--|
| From stone walles ;—tut, their church shall last for ever ; | | |
| Theire soules shalbe their tabernacles still, | 373 | |
| That kinde of church doth only please their will. | | |
| Ilove separat me from these Separists, | | Jove, deliver me
from such men! |
| Which think they hold heavens kingdome in their fists, | | |
| And yet their life, if we into it prie, | 377 | |
| Is full of sinne & damnd impiety. | | |
| Some, more for fear of the lawes punishment | | |
| Then zeale vnto devotion, doe frequent | 380 | |
| Gods holy temple, where they doe imploy | | Some go to
church because
they fear the
law. |
| Themselves as ill as if they staide away ; | | |
| On[e] part in sleeping, in discourse another ; | | Some sleep,
some talk ; |
| A third doth seeme to marke, but doth discover | 384 | |
| Silie some object that withdrawes his eye | | |
| From what he should attend ; the yoonger frie | | others come to
see and be seen. |
| Come only to be seen & see : of all | | |
| Which doe repaire to church, the fruit is smale | 388 | |
| That is collected by them. I surmisse | | |
| That wickednesse by this doth rather rise | | |
| To greater height, then anywise decaie ; | | |
| For pride & lust it is the ready way | 392 | |
| I'me sure. Of every new framd fashion, | | Every new
fashion is dis-
played at church. |
| This is the place to make moste ostentation, | | |
| To shew the bravery of our gay attire | | |
| Hether to come on purpose ; our desire | 396 | |
| Is to be seen of all, whilst we observe | | [leaf 7] |
| The like in others. Though our soules doe sterue | | |
| For want of knowledge, we doe little care ; | | |
| From gazing vp and downe we cannot spare | 400 | |
| A iot of time to hearken to Gods word, | | Not a moment
can be spared
from gazing
about. |
| When all's to litle that we doe afforde | | |
| To our owne fancies ; thus the time we spend, | | |
| Which devine service soone brings to an end ; | 404 | |
| And then againe we homeward doe advaunce, | | |
| Fuller of pride, as full of ignorance. | | |
| Is there a wench whose beauty is of note ? | | If there's a
pretty wench, |

the gallants come to observe her perfections.	Hether your gallants come, only to cote Her rare perfections ; yea, this sacred place Serves them to make (they have soe little grace) Compacts for lust. Thus by these hellish evils The howse of God is made a den of devils.	408
I do not wish to hinder people from going to church ;	I speake not this to hinder the concourse Of well affected minides vnto that source, That fountaine, blessed fountaine, which doth flow With living waters, Gods word ; no, my bow Aimes at another marke ; I onlie strive To rectifie abuses which deprive The Gospell of his propagation, And plentifull encrease. Our nation	412
I only want to rectify abuses.	Aimes at another marke ; I onlie strive To rectifie abuses which deprive The Gospell of his propagation, And plentifull encrease. Rather needs spurres to quicken his slow pace Vnto religion & the house of grace.	416
Some are so greedy of gain that even the Sabbath cannot hinder them from following their occupations.	For some there are which gape soe after gaine, That on the Lords day they will not refraine, So 't to their benefit tend, to exercise Themselves in some laborious enterprise. In towne & cuntrie this vngodlie sinne To grow vnto a custome doth beginne ;	420
The country man does so, and so does the tradesman.	424	
They labour when they ought to be at church.	428	
	Your country swaines will moste familiarlie Worke one this day & labour impiouslie. But 'mongst our tradesmen specially, this vse, Which I may iustlie call a damnd abuse, Is most familiar. Six dayes in the weeke Are not sufficient, but the seventh must reeke With sweat of their vngodly labour, when They should repaire to church with other men,	432
	436	
	To give vnto the Lord, the only Giver Of blessings, & the gracious Forgiver Of hell deserving sinnes, all praiers & praise. What though the word of God expresly sayes, “This is the day which thou must dedicate	440
	Vnto my service, this day at no rate Shalt thou performe thy worke, least thou doe draw	

- My heavy wrath vpon thee?" Though the law 444 They despise the
Of man forbid the same, and doe inflict
A punnishment on those it doth convict
Of this offence; yet fearlesse of all danger,
From the man borne i' th' land vnto the stranger, 448
If they can cast a mist before the eye
Of sinne-correcting, strict authority,
Moste of our tradesmen will enact this crime ;
It stands not with their profit to loose time ; 452 Most of our
They'l take their best advantage while they may ;
It is sufficient once a month to pray.
Vngracious villaines, how can you expect
A blessing to your labour, which neglect 456
The only meanes, Gods service, which alone
Can bring your workes vnto perfection ?
The manna gathered in the wildernesse
By the Iewes vnbelieving wickednesse 460 The manna
Vpon their Sabbath, by the Lord forbidden,
Both putrifide & stuncke. Nothing is hidden
Which shall not be revealde ; though you may blinde
The eyes of man, there is a God will finde 464
And punnish this lewd sinne. I' th' meantime think
That all such labours in his nostrils stinke,
And therfore shall prove fruitlesse : men intend
But God it is that consummates the end. 468 All Sunday
I cannot 'scape the blest Communion,
Which doth with God effect our vniōn,
It is soe much abusd by sinfull man,—
To passe the papist & the Lutheran, 472 The Holy Com-
Their trans & consubstantiation,
Of both these errors to make no relation,—
We that doe holde the verity indeed,
That this same bred, wheron our soules doe feed, 476
This wine we drink, is reall bred and wine,
Although the mistery be moste devine ;
Even we, I say, though we doe represent
TIME'S W.

Passing by the
Papist and the
Lutheran, we

ourselves err in our opinion of this Sacrament.	The true opinion of the Sacrament,	480
	Yet in the vse doe erre, nay rather sinne, Which applide rightly is the meanes to winne Eternall life. Some men, which are vnable	
Some go to the Holy Table to please their sense;	To iudge the worth, come to this Holy Table Only to please their sence ; others there are Which for so smale a pittaunce doe not care ;— “ What is a bitte of bread, a sip of wine ? ” — But that the law doth straightly them enioyne,	484
	488 To be partakers of this holy meat And sacred drink. By farre they'd rather eat At their owne howses, wher their carnall sence May be suffie'd ; their soules intelligence	
some think it is not worth the trouble, but go because the law compels them.	492 May sterue for want of this spirituall food, And they regard it not. That's only good In their grosse braines, whose visibility And appetituall sensibility	496
[leaf 8]	Lies open to their sence. Others ther be, Which doe indeed esteem more reverendlie Of the Lords Supper ; & because they knowe The danger great, that to their soules may grow	500
Others esteem themselves unworthy, and refuse to go on that account,	By their vnworthy eating, quite refuse To be partakers of it ; still they vse Some let or other to detaine them back ; Either they doe due preparation lacke,	504
or because they are not in charity with all men.	Or else they are not in true charity With other men. Ther must noe malice be In a communicant : 'tis true.—What then ? Doe you surmise, O shallow-pated men,	508
But remember, the king made his feast, and that you were bidden.	That this excuse is all sufficient To satisfie for such a foule intent ? No, simple worldlings ; the king made his feast, And you were bidden to it 'mongst the rest ;	512
	But 'cause you would not come, you shall not tast His sacred supper, but you shalbe cast Into that pitt, with the ungodlie rout,	

Where the worme dies not, the fire ne're goes out. 516

And soe shall likewise he that boldlie came

Without his wedding roabe ; I mean the same

Which comes vnto the Table of the Lord

As to some common, ordinarie bord,

And never seekes to make true preparation,

But even eats & drinkes his owne damnation.

It is a lamentable thing to see

The ignorance & strange stupidity

Of men now living in the clearest light

Of the resplendant Gospell, as if night

Of darkest errour still ecclips'd their eyes ;

They are so rude in the true mysteries

Of their salvation, scarce one man 'mong ten

Can giue a true account of 's faith ; nor, when

He comes to due examination,

How he hath made his preparation

For the Lords Table, iustlie tell the number

Of Sacraments ; this only thing doth cumber

The wits of many & confounds their sence,

As I haue seen by plaine experience.

How far then are they from the perfect knowing

Of their true vse ! yet these men will be shewing

Themselues moste forward to receive ; but what

They know not, nor they care not much for that ; 540

But for the world, to purchase earthly gaine,

They follow that with dayly sweat and paine.

It is a custome, lewd enough I 'me sure,

(And I doe wonder that our lawes endure

Such profane vses) after the receate

Of that coelestiall sacramentall meat,

For olde & young i' th' country frequently

Vpon that day to vse most luxurie.

Each on[e] must then vnto an alehouse run,

Drink drunke, act any sinne vnder the sunne.

Why? this same day 's a day of iubile ;

You and he who
came without his
wedding garment
will alike be cast
into hell.

520

It is lamentable
to see the ignor-
ance and
stupidity of men

524

528 in that which
concerns their
own salvation.

532

Some cannot
even tell the
number of the
Sacraments,

536

or their true use.

[leaf 8, back]

After receiving
the Holy Sacra-
ment,

544

it is common for
old and young to
go to the alehouse.

548

It has been the custom; and they would rather lose their souls than their privileges.

Such men are like him who swept his house, after which seven evil spirits came to dwell with him.

Satan stands ready to enter into them as he did into Judas.

So man, whose life is but a bubble, is blown from Christianity.

If the joys of heaven have not softened his heart,

let the fear of hell do so.

- It hath been an accustomd liberty 552
 To spend this day in mirth, and th[e]y will choose
 Rather their soules then priviledges loose.
 And soe (I fear) not few among them will ;
 For they, which on this day doe drink & swill 556
 In such lewd fashion, may be likened well
 To him that swept the howse wher he did dwell,
 And made it clean, & garnisht it full faire ;
 After which act ther did to him repaire 560
 Seven evill fiends worse then the former were ;
 More ougly sinnes did enter & dwell there,
 And by his falling to more wicked sining,
 He made his end far worse then his begining. 564
 So is 't with them that in this sort doe sinne,
 Satan stands close ready to enter in,
 Even as he did in Iudas, which had eat
 Vnworthily the sacramentall meat. 568
 And yet fond man regardeth not one whit,
 Till he have made himselfe the devils bit,
 Who at two bits, for so his name imports,
 Devours both soule & body, mans two parts. 572
 Thus is man blowne, by every paffe of vanity,
 From the true scope of Christianity,
 His soules salvation. Wretched, wicked man,
 Returne, repent ! Thy life is but a spanne, 576
 A breath, a buble ; think that thou must die
 To live in joyes or endlesse miserie.
 And if the comfort of celestiall blisse,
 Whose joy beyond imagination is, 580
 Haue not sufficient power to mollifie
 Thy heart, heart hardned in iniquity,
 Yet let the horrour of damnation,
 Of whose strange paines no tongue can make relation,
 Enforce repentance with a true contrition, 585
 And that produce a forward disposition

To a new course of life ; refuse not grace
While it is offered ; while ther 's time & space
Dally not with repentance, least iust Iove
Convert to furie his contemnèd love ;
And in that ire, iustly conceivèd ire,
Confine thy soule to hells tormentiug fire.

588 While he has time
let him not dally
[leaf 9]
with repentance !

592

Satira 2.

[AGAINST SHAMS.]

ARGUMENTUM.

Fronti nulla fides, ludunt spectacula mentem ;
 Non facies verum symptoma cordis habet.
 Decipimur specie recti, sub imagine veri
 Falsa latent; virtus dissimulata placet.

No poet has been
able to describe
the Mausoleum,

which, for all its
outward beauty,
is full of
corruption.

The sun looks no
bigger than a
cart-wheel.

The crocodile
sheds tears before
he devours his
prey.

- The brave erect Mausolian monument,
 That famous vrne, the worlds seventh wonderment,
 Whose sumptuous cost & curious workmanship
 Noe poet, though in Helicon he dip 596
 His pen, by verse is able to dilate,
 Being made for wonder, not to imitate ;
 For all his glorious outside, without staine,
 Filth¹ & corruption doth within containe. 600
 The sunne, whose spacious orbe in magnitude
 Doth far exceed the earth, seemes to the rude,
 Ignorant of the astronomicke art,
 Noe bigger then the wheel of Hobnols cart. 604
 Counterfet gold, if we doe trust our eye,
 Will passe for purest mettall currantlie.
 The dredfull beast, yeleped crocodile,
 Whose dwelling is about Ægyptian Nile, 608
 Before he doth devoure his wished prey,
 Pitty in outward semblance doth display ;

¹ MS. Fill.

- | | | |
|--|-----|--|
| For brinish teares from his false eyes distill,
When he is ready to destroy & kill. | 612 | |
| Full dear seafaring passengers abie
The Syrens sweet enchaunting melodie,
Which by their singing evermore presage
Death thretning danger by the furious rage
Of an ensuing storne. Of Circes cup
Who hath not heard, that who therof did sup
Was changd (strange metamorphosis in nature)
From humane forme into a brutish creature ? | 616 | The Syrens by
their melody
entice sailors to
their destruction. |
| And yet the cup [w]as goodly to beholde,
Richly enchasde with pearle, composde of golde. | 620 | Circe's cup,
though beautiful,
changed him who
drank from it into
a brute. |
| Glorious in view appear'd Medusaes head,
Nathlesse it did strike the beholders dead. | 624 | |
| Serpents & poysnous toads, as in their bowers,
Doe closely lurke vnder the sweetest flowers.
But senelesse things & sensall beastes alone
Mislead not mans to rash opinion ; | 628 | Serpents and
toads lurk under
sweet flowers.

[leaf 9, back] |
| Even rationall creatures doe our iudgements cheat,
Man is to man a subiect of deceite ;
And that olde saying is vntrue, "the face
Is index of the heart." False looking glasse | 632 | Man is to man a
subject of deceit; |
| To view the thoughts of man, when there doe raine
Stormes of displeasure in mans vexèd braine ;
When mists of sorrow reasons eyes doe blinde,
When revenge thunders in his ragefull minde, | 636 | |
| His face can carry sunneschine of delight,
Allthough his soule be blacke as ougly night.
You erre, fond physiognomers, that hold
The inward minde followes the outward molde. | 640 | his face is not
the index to his
heart ; |
| Philosophers, your axiome is vnsure,
The soule is as the bodies temperature ;
Complexion noe certaine ground doth shew
The disposition of a man to know ;
Els why should Nisus, that same ¹ pretty youth, | 644 | and his com-
plexion does not
always show his
disposition. |

¹ MS. some. Cf. Sat. 3, 1101; 4, 1397.

Be of soe lewd behaviour ? when, in truth,
His bodies erasis is angelicall,
And his soules actions diabolicall.

648

If men were
as they seem,
detraction would
not profess him-
self my friend.

Things are not as they seeme ; for were they soe,
Detraction would professe himselfe my foe,
Shewing his rancors hate before my face,
And not behinde my baeke worke my disgrace,

652

When in my presence he doth seem to be
As Damon to his Pithias, friend to me.

The tradesman
seems civil and
honest, but he'll
cheat you.

Mechanico, reputed by moste men

656

An honest tradesman & grave citisen,

When thou dost come into his shop to buy,

Although it be the least commodity,

With kind salutes & good wordes will receave thee ;

But trust him not, in 's deeds he will deceave thee. 660

Madam's face is
painted and her
hair only a
periwig.

Madam Fucata seemeth wondrous faire,
And yet her face is painted, & her haire,
That seemes soe goodly, a false periwig.

664

Thus all her beauty is not worth a fig,

That doth appeare so glorious to *the* eye,

And strikes my gallant in loves lethurgie,

That soe doth boast of famous ancestry

And from great Iove derives his pedigree,

668

And speakes indeed, like Iove himselfe, in thunder ;

For othes, as if they would rend heaven in sunder,

Shot out in vollies, like artillerie,

Flie from his mouth, that piece of blasphemie. 672

Her gallant
shoots out oaths
like artillery.

Like some great horse he paceth vp and downe,

Gracing his lookes with a disdainefull frowne,

And takes vpon him in each company,

As if he held some petty monarchy.

676

If any man by chance discourse of warre,

Ile being present this discourse will marre

By intermixing his high martiall deeds,

Swearing his manhood all mens else exceeds ;

680

He puts on a
disdainful frown,
[leaf 10]

Vowing that his Herculean arme hath slaine
and swears he
has killed more

More men then populous London doth containe,
Except the subvrb. He hath made to flie
The potent Turke, & got the victory

684 men than London contains.
He has put the Turk to flight.

By his owne valour. Charles the Fift of Spaine
Was nothing to him, nor great Tamburlaine ;
Stout Scanderbeg a childe ; he paralels
Strong sinnewed Sampson, or, indeed, excels.
What dares he not performe ? Hee 'l vndertake
To make the Spanniards vtterly forsake
The Westerne Indies & their mines of gold,
With some few chosen men ; nay hee 'l vpholde
His force sufficient to reconquer Fraunce,
And with that kinglome once againe enhaunce
The faire revennewes of the English crowne,
Or lay their citties levell with the ground.

688 Samson and
Charles the Fifth
were nothing to
him.

Hee 'l chase the Turke out of Hungaria,
And force him leave his seat in Grecia ;
Europe hee 'l free from his vexation,
And bring againe that scattered nation,
The Lewes, together to their Palestine,
Which he by force will conquer, & confine
To his obeisaunce. These he dares be bolde,
And more then these, even acts that would make colde
He can drive the
Turk out of
Hungary and
Greece,
and restore the
Jews to Palestine.

The heartes of men only to hear recounted, 705

His martiall force, which Mars his force surmounted,

Shall vndertake. Thou vainly bragging foole,
Whereto I haue no hand. But hee shal haue

¶ Ne're trained vp in brave Bellonaes schoole,
For I have fould them but to mire.

He's a vain,
bragging fool.

Doe not I know, for all thou lookest soe big,
Thou art a dule to see will hee.

Thou never yet durst see a sillie pig
Suckt at the boar's teat? A sow will have

The old hill man said, "Now get thee gone!" — 512

Thou kill a man ! No, no ! thy mothers sonne, 712
Hes only cause was a true commandment.

I'll undertake a sword shall strike thee dead.

Thee undertake a sword shall strike thee dead,
And never touch thee! As for thy dissent

And never touch thee! As for thy ascent,

His mother's
only son was a
coward.

¹ *descript.*: of *coragious brag*: in margin of MS. by a later hand.

He was born in
fertile Kent,
and his father
was a clown.

But because he
has travelled
a little

[leaf 10, back]

and seen a little
of French life,

he thinks he
exceeds all men in
bravery and
learning.

The Puritan's
wife lives in sin,

and is her coun-
try's shame.

Do their meet-
ings lead to this,
while the world
thinks them so
good?

Though thou maist boast the place was firtill Kent 716
That gave thee birth, yet was thy syre a clowne,
And kept his wife in a course homespun gowne ;
Who, scraping vp a litle wealth, began
To fashion thee an ill shapd gentleman. 720

And now, because thou hast, like Coriate,¹
Traveld a litle ground, & canst relate
How many baudy houses thou hast seen
In the French country ; how the whores have been 724
Kinder there to thee then our English punckes ;²
How many nunnes thou hast heard sing, & monckes
Say mattens ; thou thyselfe dost now repute
³The wort[h]iest wort[h]y of the race of Brute ; 728
The rarest linguist England doth afford,
The bravest soldier that e're wore a sword.
Vain vpstart braggadochio ! heartlesse cow !
Leave Mars his drumme, goe holde thy fathers plow !

Fine Mistris Simula, the Puritane, 733
Which as the plague shunnes all that are profane,
Ready to faint if she an oth but hear,
For all her outward holinesse doth blear 736
The worldes dimme eyes, plaies but the hypocrite,
Living in sinne & sensuall delight.

For, would you think it ? she was tane in bed
With a young, tender, smoothfaed Ganimed, 740
Her husbands prentice. Out, lascivious whore !
Thy countries shame, thy husbands festered sore !

Are these the fruits thy frequentation
Of learned sermons yeilds ? Is this the fashion 744
Of your pure seeming sect ? Your meetings tend
Surely vnto some such like holy ende.
And yet the world, blinde world, thinkes you to be
Men of most zeale & best integrity. 748
Methinkes I see the rich chuffe, Sordido,

¹ Coryate's "Crudities" first appeared in 1611.

² See "Crudities," p. 26. ³ /I in margin of MS.

How basely in apparrell he doth goe ;
 Vpon his head a thrice turnd greasy felt,
 His hose & dublet a tuffe ramskin pelt ;
 His stockings of the coursest woole yspunne,
 Full of broad patches, with thicke hobnaild shoone ;
 His lockram bande sewde to his hempen shirt ;
 A lethern thong doth serve his wast to girt, 752
 At which a pouch full 20 winters olde

The miser goes
in a greasy hat,
and coarse
clothing, his
linen collar
stitched to his
hempen shirt :

Hangs for his codpiece to keep out the colde.
 How hunger-starvd he lookes ! With thin lank cheekeſ,
 With beard vnkemd, with face fit soile for leekes, 760
 I dare be sworne, who e'er ſhould ſee the goat,
 Wou'd iudge him to be ſearcely worth a groat.
 And yet this boore, this miſerable ſwine,
 Hath landes & lordſhips, with good ſtore of coine. 764
 Slave to thy wealth, thus from thy ſelfe to rend
 What thy next heir will ſoone as vainly ſpend !

how hungry he
looks !
His cheeks are
thin, his beard
uncombed ;
you would not
judge him to be
worth a groat.

Scotus, thou hast deceiu'd the world enough,
 Which takes thee, clothd in thy embrodered ſtuffe,
 To be ſome lord at leaſt. Poore ſilly groome, 769
 Which tother day wou'dt faine have had the roome
 Of ſome base trencher-ſeraper, ſo to put

The world takes
Scotus for a lord
at leaſt, but the
other day he was
[leaf 11]
half starved ;

Seraps twice runne over, in thy half starvd gutt. 77
 And now, with often filling of the pot,

An office vnder my lords man hast got,
 Being ſome bread-chipper or greasy cooke,
 For much obſervance & respect dōſt looke. 776

and now, having
a poſt under
ſomebody, he
looks for reſpect.

Goe where thou wilt, thou gettest none of me.
 I know too well thy genealogie.

Let ignorant asses bend their ſupple knees,
 And cry, "God blesſe your worship," for ſome fees 780
 Of thy eaſt office ; I as much doe ſcorne,
 As they deſire the plenty of thy horne.
 Proud meacocke,¹ make the world no more believe

The ignorant may
ſalute him,

but I ſcorne him,

¹ The *m* has been crossed out and *p* written over by another hand.

and will make
the world laugh
at him and hiss
him.

Moros, who is
a very fool,
speaks so seldom
and looks so
demure, that
many think him
wise.

I know a man
who gained a
repute for
learning

By attending
booksellers' shops
and asking to see
the writings of
famous authors—

Montaigne, whose
Essays in French,
books 1 and 2, were
first published in
1580; books 1, 2,
and 3 in 1588.

[leaf 11, back]
Virgil, Horace,
Augustine,
Bernard,

Gentility is pind vpon thy sleeve ;	784
For if thou doe, with my satirick verse,	
Thy parentage & manners I 'le reherse,	
And make the world, for thy monstrous othes,	
To laugh & hisse thee out of thy fine clothes.	788
He that sees Moros in his brave attire	
Would deem him to be some discreet esquire,	
He speakes soe seldom, soe demure doth looke.	
But see how much a man may be mistooke ;—	792
A verier foole dame Nature never bred,	
That scarce knowes chalke from cheese, or blew from red ;	
Yet amongst many which haue purblinde eyes	
This foolish sot hath been thought wondrous wise.	796
I know a fellow (I 'le conceale his name)	
Hath purchasd, & yet doth possess, the fame	
Of a rare scholler, that hath noe one part	
Of learning, not the smallest dramme of art.	800
And will you know how he got his repute ?	
I 'le tell you, soe you 'l promise to be mute	
And make no wordes on 't. 'Tis his asses guise,	
As soone as he from 's morning bed cloth rise,	804
After some turne or two in Paules, to drop	
In the precinct of some knowne stationers shop,	
And there, like a learnd Sir, with a grave voice	
He doth demand to see some special choice	808
Of famous authors, whose true names by heart	
The foole hath gotten, of what tongue or art	
It skills not much ; French, Latine, Hebrew, Greeke,	
All 's one, he vnderstandeth all alike :	812
Montaignes Essaies in French, ¹ the history	
Of Philip Comineus, ² poesie	
Of Virgil, Horace, & such Latin writers,	
St. Austine, Bernard, or some new enditers	816

¹ English translation published in 1603, 2nd ed. in 1613.

² Philip de Comines died in 1509. He wrote memoirs of his own time.

- | | |
|--|---|
| Of commentaries theologall ;
And sometimes he's for philosophicall,
And the best writers of astronomie,
With phisick, logicke, & geometrie. | 820 |
| Then Aristotle, Di[o]scorides,
Avicen, Galen, & Hypocrates ; | Aristotle, Dioscorides, Galen, |
| The Hebrew Rabbins, Ptolomeus, Plato
(Although the foole did never learne his Cato), | 824 |
| Are in his mouth familiar. Some of these,
Which to demaund his fancy best doth please,
He for some hower or two will pore vpon,
Which time is worth your observation ; | and poring
over them for an
hour or two. |
| For sometime smiling with a simpring grace,
In turning over those same leaves apace,
To shew his skill i' th' tongues, hee'l nod his head,
As if the place which he doth seeme to read | 828 |
| Mov'd him to laughter ; then with thumb hee'l cote,
As if that sentence were of speciall note,
And straight cry " pish ! " as if he dislikd that
Which he as much knowes as his grandams eat. | 832 |
| Well, having (as he thinkes) sufficiently
Guld the opinion of the standers by
To his desire, the booke he downe doth lay,
Demaunds the price, dislikes it, goes his way. | 836 |
| Somtime perhaps, to blinde dull iudgements eye,
Some petty English pamphlet he will buie.
Thns hath this gall, among the common sort,
Whiēh iudge by outward shewes, got the report | 840 |
| Of a great scholler, when, God knowes, the foole
Was never farther then the grammer schoole. | he demands the
price, and sometimes
will buy a
petty English
Pamphlet to gull
the by-standers. |
| Thus mans opinion doth him oft deceave,
And of trne iudgement doth his minde bereave.
Iudging by outward shewes we iudge amisse,
For vice in vertues habite clothed is. | 844 |
| Hypocrisie seemes holinesse in looke,
Fixing his eyes on heaven or in his booke. | 848 |
| If we judge by
outward appear-
ances we judge
amiss : | |
| | 852 |

	O, 'tis a most dissembling, harmfull devill, That's good in shew & yet in heart is evill. Backbiting slander, deep dissimulation, Are inside hate, yet outside salutation.	856
hatred is often beneath salutation;	Vanting in wordes true valour oft doth seeme, Yet by his actions we him coward deem ; Soothing vp ill, pernicious flattery, In outward shew good counsel seemes to be.	860
valour is only cowardice in disguise;	Deformity, daubde with a face of paint, With beauties title doth herselfe a[e]quaint ; Base avarice & sordid parsimony	864
flattery takes the form of good counsel;	Is thrift ¹ accounted, & good husbandry ; Excessive spending, sensuall prodigality, Is thought all one with liberality ; Impudent boldnesse, rash temerity,	868
[leaf 12]	Is held for vertuous audacity ; Ignorance in his scarlet robe yclad, Accounted learning, in respect is had, When vertuous ² art, clothed in poor aray,	872
avarice is accounted thrift;	Is held in no repute, till time bewray The seeming good that ignorance hath not, And the not seeming good that art hath got.	
prodigality,	Thus ther's no trust to be reposde in seeming, Since virtue's knowne by act, not by esteeming.	876
liberality.		
Ignorance passes for learning, while learning is held in no repute.		
Put no trust in seeming.		

¹ MS. thirift.

² Originally written *vertuous*, but altered apparently by another hand into *virtuous*.

Sat[ira] 3.

[AGAINST PRIDE, ETC.]

ARGUMENTUM.

Dum tendit superos ambire superbia cœlos,
Decidit ad Stigium fulmine quassa lacum.
Æterno verum sic indignata perisse,
Cœcos mortales ad sua regna trahit.

After the fabricke of heaven, earth, & seas
Were gloriously composde, it then did please
High Iove (e're he began mans operation)

To give vnto the Angels their creation.

No earthly substance was in them at all,
Their formes were heavenly & spirituall.

Yet some of these, vpon the very day

They were by God created (if I say
Vntruth, I can alleadge mine author for it),
Swelling with pride (oh, I to write abhor it)

Because they were such glorious creatures, strove

To take possession of the throne of Iove.

But he, displeasde with such ambition,

Struck them with lightning downe to Acheron,
And them confined perpetually to dwell
In the darke horrour of infernall hell.

Thus were faire angels ougly devils made,
And one dayes sinne an everlasting trade.

After the creation
of the heavens
and the earth,
angels were
called into being.

880

On the very day
of their creation
they attempted
to dethrone the
Almighty,

884

888

who drove them
into hell.

892

After the fall of
these, man was
created and
woman made to
be his associate

After the fall of these was man compacted,
And from him sleeping woman was extracted 896
And made to be a kinde associat

[leaf 12, back]

Vnto him. Now the devill shewes his hate
And swelling envie 'gainst God in his creature
Formd to his image, man ; to make defeature 900
Of his estate in blisse, he doth intend
And fittest opportunity attend.

To work their
fall Lucifer seeks
an opportunity,

To worke thisfeat proud Lucifer's enioynd,
And goe[s] about it swifter then the winde. 904

thinking to ease
his own pain by
making man co-
partner in his
grief.

"Shall I," quoth he, "fall from celestiall blisse
Into the horro[r] of hells blacke abyssse,
And man escape? Shall I in torment live,
And man in pleasure? Shall I only grieve, 908
And man goe scotfree? No, 'twill ease my paine
If in my griefe I him copartner gaine ;
And I will doe it : if my plots hit right,
I'le bring his soule vnto perpetuall night." 912
This saide, the serpents shape he takes & hies
Vnto the tree in midst of Paradise.

Eve's mind he
inspires with
pride,

There findes the woman, after namèd Eve,
The weakest vessel, easiest to deceave ; 916
Whose minde with hellish pride he straight inspirde
That she [the] trees forbidden fruit desirde ;
The tree of which alone she might not eat,
The tree forbidden by the Lord for meat. 920

causing her to eat
of the tree of
knowledge.

The tree of knowledge, knowledge of much evill,
She gathers straight, seducèd by the devill,
Whiche greedilie, without advice, she tasted,
And then to give her husband of it hasted. 924
Whom when she had allurde vnto her will,
And both had tasted, then they knew their ill ;
But all too late (first Phrigians¹) they grew wise,

Grown wise,
Adam and Eve

¹ This may refer to the Phrygian oracle which promised empire to him who untied the Gordian knot, cut by Alexander the Great. Or it may be an allusion to the low estimate in which Phrygian character was held by the ancients.

- Being both thrust forth Edens Paradise ; 928 lost Paradise,
 Which happy place man ever had possessed,
 If they had never in this sorte transgressed.
 which man
 would ever have
 possessed.
- Vnhappy three, first causers of our evill,
 Fond man, proude woman, & accursèd devill ! 932
 Since this hath pride increasd with Adams seed,
 And Lucifer companions shall not need ;
 Man with soe many kindes of pride doth swell
 As if he strove headlong to run to hell. 936
 Since this, pride
 has gone on
 increasing in
 Adam's seed.
- Some shew their pride in raysing stately bowers,
 Which seem to threatne heaven like Babell towers ;
 Building so strong, erecting them so high,
 As if they ment to live eternally, 940
 In spite of Iove. Others bestow more cost
 In houses built for pleasure, which they boast
 Are but for shew, then would maintaine & cherish
 Thousands of poore soules which are like to perish : 944
 Confusion sure will light on their pretence
 Which wast their treasure in soe vaine expence.
 and some in
 houses built for
 pleasure.
 [leaf 13]
- Others there be which, clad in gay attire,
 In stately gate & loftie lookes, aspire 948
 Above their ranke ; holding inferiors base,
 Scarsely permitting equalles come in place
 Of fellowship, vnlesse their peacock sutes
 Gaine them admittance in their proud reputes. 952
 Others, in fine
 clothing and
 lofty looks,
 aspire above
 their rank.
- O, these are men of admiration,
 Which follow each fantastique fashion,
 To be observde with reverence & respect ;
 When, if we could the inward man detect, 956
 God knowes that I am not deceavd a whit,
 Their gay apparrell covers litle witt.
 These follow each
 vain fashion,
 but their gay
 apparel covers
 little wit.
- Most of our women are extreamly proud
 Of their faire lookes, & therfore doe enshroud
 Their beauties in a maske ; with greater care
 Their faces then their soules, to keepen faire.
 Some of this kinde when beauty gins decay, 960
 Most of our
 women are
 proud—they
 paint their faces.

The men curl
their pates and
wear love-locks ;
others paint their
faces.

I know one who
is ever looking in
his glass, setting
his perfumed
beard or combing
his hair.

The fate of
Narcissus might
cure him.

[leaf 13, back]

Some delight in
hearing them-
selves speak, and
tire all men with
their chatter.

Some, like
Phaeton, aspire
at honours far
above what they
deserve,

- By art restore what nature takes away, 964
 Painting their visage. Cursed Iesabell
 That taught them this, will bring them all to hell.
 This vice in woeman only doth not bide,
 Men alsoe are infected with this pride. 968
 Some curle their pates to make their lookes more fair,¹
 Others delight to wear a locke of haire,
 A lovelocke, which being of the longest size
 Doth the lewd wearer quite effeminize. 972
 Nay some with fucus will besmear their face,
 It ads to their complexion better grace.
 I knowe a snowt-faire, selfe-conceited asse,
 Which is still prying in a looking glasse 976
 To see his fooles face, washt with ly o'th' chamber,
 And set his beard, perfumde with greece of amber,
 Or kembe his civet lockes, soe far in love
 With his owne beauty, that I fear hee'l proove 980
 Sicke with conceat ; for the which maladie
 I can prescribe no better remedy
 Then wish the glasse, wherin he views his face,
 A river, him to take Narcissus place, 984
 So the next time he came on 's face to looke
 He should be drenchèd in the liquid brooke.
 But leaving him a courting in the glasse
 His owne vaine shadowe, I this coxcome passe. 988
 Others there be which, selfe-conceited wise,
 Take a great pride in their owne vaine surmise,
 That all men think them soe ; these take delight
 To hear themselves speak ; if they can recite 992
 A thing scarce worth the hearing, they will prate
 Till they tire all men with their idle chatt.
 Others, ambitious like fond Phaeton,
 Aspire to guide the chariot of the sunne, 996
 Aiming at honours far above their place,
 Till by their pride they worke their owne disgrace.

¹ Margin worn away : may have been *faire*.

- Presumptuous pride in others doth remaine,
And these high Loves almighty power disdaine, 1000
And (like those giants) fight against the gods,
Till, Pharoah like, they scourgèd are with rods
Of dire affliction, & their hardned hearts
Vnto their guilty soule dispaire impartes. 1004
But I too much insist in generall :—
Pride in particular must be dealt withall.
He that desires to breake a bunch of wandes,
Must not take all at once into his handes, 1008
But singlie, one by one ; and if he trie,
He may then break them with facility.
Reader, doe thou the application make,
For I to other matters me betake. 1012
- Proud Romish prelat, triple crownèd Pope,
Which vauntst of Peters heavenly keis, that ope
The dore that leads vnto celestiall blisse ;
Which makst great princes stoope thy foote to kisse,
Emperours vpon thy stirrop to attend, 1017
When as thou wilt thy stately horse ascend ;
Damd Antichrist, proud Lucifers first sonne,
Ambitious beast, great whore of Babilon ! 1020
Thou false vsurper of Gods regal throne,
How darst assume his honour, whiche, alone
Monarch of heaven & earth, disdaine[s] to see
Corrvalls in his sacred Emperie ? 1024
How darst thou take vpon thee such authority
Whiche doth belong to Gods high majesty,
To forgive sinnes, to award heaven & hell
At thine owne pleasure ? Wher didst learne to swell
With such ambition ? Thinkst thou Peeters chaire
Can sheld thee from Gods wrath ? Can once impaire
And lessen thy deserved punnishment ? 1032
Can free thee from eternall detriment ?
Thinkst thou that he presumption can abide,
Whiche did not spare his angels for their pride ?
- and are punished
for their pre-
sumption.
- I have dealt long
enough with
generalities, I
come now to
particulars.
- The Pope makes
princes kiss his
feet, and emperors
hold his stirrup,
as Frederick
Barbarossa did
that of Alexander
III. [*Coryate's
Crudities*, p. 201,
ed. 1611.]
- He is a false
usurper of God's
honour.
- Peter's chair can
not shield him
from God's
anger.

No. Thou shalt finde that he will vengeance take,
Sending thee headlong to the Stygian lake. 1036

[leaf 14]
Madam Poppaea
is so stately that
she can neither
sit nor walk
alone.

Maddam Poppaea is soe stately growne
That she can neither sit nor walke alone ;
Store of attendants still must wait vpon her,
And doe obsequious homage to her honour. 1040

Cloth of Arras
must be her
carpet, her horse
must be shod
with gold.

The ground she thinkes vnworthy is to bear
Her precious body ; when she doth vprear
Her selfe vpon her feet, there must be spread
Rich clothes of Arras wher she goes to tread. 1044
If she doe ride, the horse that must vpholde
So rare a burden must be shod with golde.

She bathes in
goats' milk.

When she intends to wash her selfe she hath
Of goats pure milck a sweet preparèd bath.
Musick beyond the musick of the spheares
Must still attend vpon her itching¹ eares.

How can the
Fates permit her
to go on un-
punished ?

Her food must be Ambrosian delicates,
Dissolvèd pearle her drink. Impartiall fates ! 1052
How can ye suffer this lascivious quean
Thus swell in pride, thus swim in pleasures streme,
And holde your thunder fast ? Proud, stately dame,

The Almighty,
who slew Herod
for his pride, will
punish her.

Which more respectst thy body then thy fame, 1056
Or thy soules health, know that all working Power
Which did confound (by wormes that did devour
His cursed body) Herods lofty pride,
Will, when thou thinkst thou art most diefied, 1060
Sevearly punnish with confusion,
To thy soules horrour, this presumption.

Lucius spends
his all to maintain
his harlot in
luxury.

Lucius spends his substance & his store,
To keep in gallant fashion his proud whore, 1064
Yet al's to little to maintaine her pride ;
She must be coacht, forsooth, & bravely ride.
Lackies before her charriot must run,
And she in spangled gold, clothd like the sunne, 1068
Dazels the eyes of men, or she complains

¹ MS. 'itching.'

He loves her not, & such a man maintaines
 His love in better fashion ! Then his land
 Must flie, for soe his mistris doth command,
 To bolster vp her pride. O foolish sot,
 Thus to procure thy reputations blot,
 Thy states vndooing, & thy soules perdition
 For on[e] soe base & of soe vile condition !

His lands go to
minister to her
pride.
1072

1076

Drusus, that fashion-imitating ape,
 Delights to follow each fantastique shape ;
 Every new habit of hell-hac[t]hed sinne,
 Though it vndooe him, hee'l be clothèd in ;
 And prodigally vpon every toy
 Lash out his substance ; 'tis his only ioy
 To see himselfe not differing in a hair
 From the true stamp of a brave Cavaleer.

1080

Drusus imitates
the fashions like
an ape, and will
dress like
cavalier.

1084

Vain Epainnuutus, selfe-admiring gull,
 Doth speake orations, write whole volumes full
 Of his owne praises. Silly, simple sotte,
 Hast thou that auncient, true saide sawe forgot, 1088
 That "a mans praise in his owne mouth doth stinke" ?
 Or dost (foole if thou dost) absurdly think
 This age such shallow pated men affords,
 That will give credit to thy boasting wordes ? 1092

[leaf 14, back]
Another writes
volumes of his
own praises,

Because in gay apparell thou art drest
 Some puppet-like thou dost advaunce thy crest,
 And swell in big lookes like some turkie cocke,
 Ready to burst with pride, & even to choake 1096
 With selfe-conceit of thy perfection,
 Which is iust nowe, though the infection
 Of thy high leveld thoughts lets thee not see
 The ougly face of thy deformity.

1100

and because he is
well-dressed is
bursting with
pride.

Thou which thinkst Adon, that same lovely boy,
 Dame Natures dareling, Cithereas joy,
 A taunie Negro, or Barbarian Moore,
 Comparèd to thy selfe, & dost adore 1104
 Even thine owne beauty like some demigod,

He thinks Adonis
a Negro compared
to himself,

and fancies his
good looks ravish
the eyes of all
who see him,

and that one
kiss from him
would be endless
bliss.

But he is only
like a bladder
puft up with
vanity.

Another is proud
of empty honours,

[leaf 15]
and forgets that
he might have
been as low as
those whom he
despises.

Honour is a
flower, a vapour,
and is soon
blown away.

Which (for on purpose thou dost goe abroad
To shew thy selfe), thou vainely dost surmise
Doth even ravish the beholders eyes. 1108
Noe wench that sees thee, but straight fals in love
With thy rare feature, & doth wish to prove
The tast of thy Ambrosian lip ; one kisse
From thy mirre-breathing mouth were endless blisse ;
But gavst thou other joyes (which in thee lies) 1113
They would be thought 'bove ioyes of paradise.
Thou bladder full puft vp with vanity,
Whom with my pen I prick, that ther migh[t] flie 1116
Out into open aire all windy pride,
All self-conceit ; then being repurifide,
Before the purchase of all earthly pelfe
Learn Solons saying, " Mortall, know thy selfe." 1120
Neotimus, why art thou growne so proud,
Instead of Iuno to embrace a cloud
I' nothing worth ? These honours heapd vpon thee
Are but as shadowes, & will soone flie from thee. 1124
Ther is an everlasting dignity
Of greater worth and more insignity,
To be sought out, which thou shalt ne're attaine,
If pride in thy aspiring thoughts doe reigne. 1128
Contemne not them because thy selfe art high,
Who, if the heavens had please, might equally
Have rankd with thee, yet now are low in state ;
All men are not predestind to on[e] fate. 1132
Become more humble, & east downe thy looke,
Least prides bait snare thee on the devils hooke,
And having caught thee, hale thee downe to hell,
With fiends in everlasting paines to dwell. 1136
For why shouldst thou be proud 'cause thou art high
In titles of renown'd dignity ?
Honour 's a flower that will soon decay ;
Honour 's a vapour, quickly blowne away ; 1140
And 'tis a saying held for true of all,

"A sudden rising hath a sudden fall."

Philarchus (which in his ambitious minde Devoures whole kingldomes) doth smale comfort finde In his olde vuckles new-framde married ¹ life,	1145	Philarchus is annoyed because his old uncle is married and has a son,
But lesse in the male issue of his wife. The bastard brat (for soe he calleth his cozen) Defrauds his expectation of a dozen	1148	
Of goodly lordships, which (his hopes were faire) Should come to him, as the next lawfull heire. But now this boy, which stands as a crosse-barre		
Twixt him & home, doth all his fortunes marre.	1152	
But long he shall not soe, if figs of Spaine, Or pils of Italy ² their force retaine ;		who, if he lives, will defraud him of the property he expected.
If ther be meanes that his pretence will furder, If ther be hands that dare enact a murder,	1156	
Hee'l send his soule (wher himselfe ne're shall come) To Abrahams bosome (mans long lookd for home).		
Nor shall his aged vuckle 'scape this net, Least if he live he doe more sonnes beget ;	1160	
Least he more issue by this marriage have, He shalbe wedded shortly to his grave.		The child and his father must be got rid of, and so must the wife.
But then his vuckles wife surviuves, purchase Left quick with childe ; & then he may goe dance	1164	
For a new living ; no, he likes not that, She shall be soone pact after too, that 's flat ;		
Besides, her ioynture, in his heart engravde With duble greatnessse, by her death is savde.	1168	
Ambitious slave ! wilt make a crimsen flood Of thy neare dearest kinsmens vitall blood,		He will bathe his hands in his kinsmen's blood
To wash thy murdrous handes ? Think not at all Vpon a deed so much vnnaturall !	1172	
Shall hope of some vain titles move thy minde, To doe an act perpetually combine With horrour of a guilty conscience		[leaf 15, back]

¹ This word seems to have been originally written *mariag.*

² Referring to the practice of secret poisoning.

to gain a little
land.

Their blood will
cry to heaven for
vengeance.

Thus Lucifer
strives to increase
the inhabitants of
hell.

When it is too
late men will see
their error.

- (A most deservèd & due recompence) 1176
 Wilt thou for purchase of a litle land,
 With innocent blood distaine thy guilty hand ?
 Desist ; for murder 's an iniquity
 That for iust vengeance vnto heaven doth crie. 1180
 And darst thou then insist in thy invention ?
 Is there noe hope to alter thine intention ?
 No ! Thou art flesht in sinne, & dost despise
 My Christian counsell ; Satan blinde[s] thine eyes. 1184
 Goe forward then in this lewd preparation,
 But know thou headlong runst vnto damnation.
 Thus Lucifer, which through ambition fell,
 Strives dayly to bring company to hell 1188
 Of each degree & sex, from every nation.
 Mortals, become more wise ; make preparation
 Of armes defensine to resist this devill
 Which would procure your everlasting evill. 1192
 But you, whose vnrelenting heartes persist
 In fearfull pride, will then cry, " had I wist,"
 Yet all too late, when each his sinne shall rue ;
 You having your iust meed, & hell his due. 1196
 Thoug[h] God awhile his punnishment delay,
 A thing defer'd 's not taken quite away.
 But now enough of Luciferian pride,
 Ther 's other vices in the world beside. 1200

Sat[ira] 4.

[AGAINST AVARICE, BRIBERY, APOSTASY.]

ARGUMENTUM.

Effodiuntur opes ex imo viscere terræ,
Quæ fiunt miseri causa, cibusque mali.
Omnia sunt auro nostræ vænalia Romæ,
Ius, pudor, & probitas, favor & ipse deus.

Insatiate Avarice then first began To raigne in the depravèd minde of man After his fall ; & then his mother Earth, That gave first being to his bodies birth,	1204
Vngracious childe, he did begin to wound, And rend the bowels of the harmelesse ground ; For precious metals & rare minerals ¹ ies Her veines, her sinnewes, & her arteries.	1208
Among these, Golde, Dame Tellus glittering sunne, Was with his sister Sylver, earth[s] bright moone, Digid from the center of rich Aurimont, Sol & his sister Phebe to confront.	1212
But for that silver golde in price doth follow, Because from him, as Cynthia from Apollo, She takes her light, & other mettals all Are but his vassaile starres ; they well may fall	1216

Avarice soon
took possession
of man's min l,

and induced him
to search the
earth for
treasures,

for gold and
silver and rare
minerals,

[leaf 16]

¹ The final *s* is ‘smudged,’ and the Author’s comma is after *ies*—thus : *minerals ies, .* The sense is not very clear, but it seems to mean, Avarice, for precious metals and minerals, eyes (i. e. searches) her veins, &c.

He who first
sought gold was
the cause of
'wronging right.'

The mischiefs
which have
ensued are
numberless.

Justice, oppressed
by Bribery, has
left the earth.

Lawyers plead no
man's cause
unpaid.

Murder, sacrilege,
theft, lust, are all
purged by money.

- Vnder his title, therfore I 'le expresse
Others in him, the great includes the lesse.
He that first searched the teeming earth for golde,
Now as a demigod perhaps enrolde 1220
In Fames eternal booke, was the chief cause
Of wronging right & abrogating lawes.
For since these mines bewi[t]chd the mindes of men,
What mischiefs haue ensude my worthlesse pen 1224
Cannot delineat, but we all can tell
The number infinitly doth excell ;
Omitting former ages & strange climes,
The vices of our nation in these times, 1228
So far excede in quality & number,
That to recite them would whole volumes cumber.
 Justice, opprest by golden bribery,
 Hath left the earth-stage of mortality 1232
 And fled to heaven for succour & defence,
 Wher she doth keep eternall residence ;
And now our lawes for Mammons cursed golde
Like as at open mart are bought & solde. 1236
Our lawyers, like Demosthenes, are mute,
And will not speak, though in a rightfull sute,
Vnlesse a golden kei vnlocke their tongue ;
Then how thei'l sweat, be it for right or wrong, 1240
And get their cause too, or it shall goe hard,
When the poore client, of his right debard,
Cursing the law, first for mans good ordainde,
Grieves at his losse, which ne're can be regaine. 1244
Let some damnd villaine of all grace bereft
Commit a murder, sacrilege, or theft,
And if he can procure but store of pence
Our justice then will with the law dispence, 1248
And grant the hell-hound life, when, for lesse cause,
Poore men abide the rigor of the lawes.
Let lustfull Iove, that virgins would defloure,
In Danaes lap rain but a golden shower, 1252

- Her chastety will soone be washt away,
And she be ready for his amarous play.
Let some rich cuffe, Thersites-like in shape,
Of far worse qualeties then an olde ape, 1256 An old wretch
Which hath nought in him that may speake him man,
But a good purse ; although he scarcely can
Speake without slavering, goe w[ith]out a crutch,
Be rivall to a man that is not such 1260
- In wealth, though far above him in deserts,
As good discent, rare features, vertuous partes ;
Yet for all this, I ten to one will lay, [leaf 16, back]
The richer man carries the wench away. 1264 will gain a wife
where a poor man
of good parts
will fail.
- Honours & offices, which in times of olde
Were given for deserts, are bought for golde.
Sir Iohn Lacklattin, one that ne're did passe
In any place, but for an ignorant asse, 1268
- If he can grease his patron in the fist,
Shall for his gold be richly benefide ;
When he that better doth deserve the place,
If poore, shall be repulsēd with disgrace. 1272 Honours and
offices are
bestowed upon
the ignorant
because they can
pay.
- Lode but a silly asse with store of golde
And he will enter in the strongest holde.
Let a foole passe by in a golden coate,
He shalbe reckond for a man of note 1276
- By those that know him not, when ou[e] that 's wise,
Poore in arraie, seemes abiect in their eyes.
- Tradesmen make no account for golden gaine
To sell their soules vnto eternall paine ; 1280 Tradesmen cheat,
and cozen and
forswear
themselves.
- Daily each one, in vttering of his wares,
Cosens his chapmen & himselfe forswearies.
The vserer hords golde vp in his chest,
Making an idole of it. To be blest 1284 The usurer hoards
up gold
- Is to get store of golde, the wre[t]ch doth thinke ;
When the fruition scarceely lets him winke,
For sleep he cannot, till i' th' end his pelfe
Shipwracks his soule vpon hels rocky shelfe. 1288 and shipwrecks
his soul.

Some, Judas like,
sell Jesus for
gold.

The Lacedæmonians
banished
gold from their
commonwealth.

He who gains
most is best off,
for the world
may be led in a
golden string.

[leaf 17]

One is dubbed a
knight because
by stealth he can
buy the honour.

Men now esteem
great means
more than great-
ness, and goods
more than
goodness.

Many for golde have turnd (like Iulian)
Apostates to true religion,

And have, with wicked Iudas, Jesus sold
For the vaine purchase of a litle golde.

1292

Thus doth the devill, full of slie deceits,
Fish for the soules of men with golden baites ;
And to increase his kingdome, doth assay
By this temptation to pervert our way.

1296

Well did the Lacedæmons banish golde
Out of their common wealth ; well did they holde
Community of all things necessary ;
For by this meanes they were not accessory
Vnto the many kindes of wickednes,
Which the vnsatiable greedinesse
Of golde in this our iron age begets ;

1300

Which to entrap, so many kinde of nets,
So many damnèd plots are dayly laide ;
He that gets moste thinks himselfe best apaide,
And well he may, for in a golden string
A man may lead the world to any thing.

1304

What in these days may not a man command,
That seekes to purchase with a golden hand ?

1308

Fortunate Fatuo was late dubbd a knight,
Not for his wit, or for his martiall fight ;
For wit ne're blest him, valour never knewe him ;
What may the cause be then that only drew him

1312

To this preferment ? Faith, his store of wealth,
For honours now ar[e] purchasèd by stealth
Of vndermining bribes. Canst thou disburse
Good store of coine from a well lined purse ?

1316

Thou shalt not want authority to grace thee,
And in an office of repute to place thee,
Be thy life ne're so vilde. O evill times,
And ill conditioned men, that act such crimes,
Which great meanes then good meaning better deeme,
And more of goods then goodness doe esteeme !

1320

1324

But bootelesse I exclame on this same age,

This vnrelenting age, whose furious rage

Will not be mollified as it hath been,

But is now hardned in vngodly sinne.

1328

Though the
world may be
none the better,
I'll expose all its
villanies.

Yet, though the world nothing the better grow,

I'le rip vp all the villanies I know.

Flavia, because her meanes are somewhat scant,

Doth sell her body to relieve her want,

1332

Flavia, scorning
to be called a
quean, sells her
body to all
comers,

Yet scornes to be reputed as a quean,

Though with moste nations she have been vnclean.

English, Scots, Dutch, French, Spannish, yea, black

Moor[es].¹

If they bring store of gold, her open dores

1336

no matter of what
nation they may
be.

Conveigh to private lust; bee 't day or night,

Golde vshers them to sensuall delight.

Thus often fighting vnder Cupids banner

Perhaps she's sometimes taken in the manner, 1340

And being brought before authority,

Which should correct her hell-bread villany,

If golde speake for her in the present tense,

The officer deputed for th' offence

1344

If she's brought
before the
magistrate the
prosecutor can be
bribed.

Will winck at smale faultes & remit correction.

This foolish, knavish pittie's an infection

Spread through our land, & hurtes our common wealth—

Iustice restore her to her former health! 1348

For true's the saying (magistrates, beware!)

"He harmes the good that doth the evill spare."

Midas is patron to a goodly living,

And Stolido, that dunce, hath now been driving 1352

Benefices are
bought and sold:

A price for it. What, benefices solde?

This was not wont to be in times of olde,

But Simonie is now soe common growne,

That 'tis account noe sinne, if kept vnkownne. 1356

Or² otherwise, lawes danger to prevent,

The patron with the parson will indent

[leaf 17, back]
Simony is so
common that
men don't care
to hide it.

¹ MS. worn away.

² MS. O^r.

It is very wrong
to deceive the
Church and
dissemble with
God.

Men who do so
should remember
the fate of
Ananias

The man who
is ignorant of the
law is made a
Justice of the
Peace,

and expects to be
sheriff and M.P.
He'll bribe the
lot to gain his
end.

- That he shall have the living in this wise,
Suffering him yearly to reserve his tithes ; 1360
When the whole parish knowes the better part
Of all the living, those his tithes imparte.
- Thou wicked imp, thus to abuse the C[h]urch,
And with such sacrilegious handes to lurch 1364
Gods sacred duties, which he doth afford
To the dispensers of his holy word !
How dar'st thou with all-seeing Iove dissemble ?
Me thinkes thou shouldst with great amazment tremble
At that most fearfull yet just punishment 1369
Powrd downe one Ananias, whose intent,
Like thine, was in most damnd hypoerisie
To mooke God with a shew of charity. 1372
But for this sinne he & his cursèd wife
Suddenly fell downe dead & lost his life.
Take heed the like plague fall not on thy head,
If thou persist, high Iove can strike thee dead ; 1376
Though he awhile forbear to shew his ire,
His mercy keeps back what thy sinnes require.
- Signior Necessity, that hath no law,
Searec ever read his Littleton,¹ a daw 1380
To a solliciter, is now become
Iustice of peace & coram ; takes his roome
'Mongst grave & learned Judges ; is still cald
Right worshipfull, his wit & pate both bald. 1384
And yet the foole expects th' ensuing year
To be elect high sherif of all the sheire.
I, & he hath great hopes, for the whole tribe
Of voices that elect the sherif hee 'l bribe ; 1388
And after that he hopes to get consent
By this meanes to be knight o' th' parliament.
Base minded peasants, which for some few pence
Give to [a] foole such place of eminence ! 1392
Ignoble Crassus did in litle time

¹ Littleton died in 1481.

- Vnto the top of honours mountaine elime ;
 If you aske how he rose, let this suffice,
 His wealth was great, & therfore needs must rise. 1396 Men whose wealth
 Ruffino, that same roring boy of fame,
 is great must
 rise.
 By braules & wenches is diseasde & lame ;
 Yet hath some store of crownes left in his purse,
 Which he with all his heart would fain disburse, 1400
 And those that healpt him benefactours call,
 To get a place in the new hospital. Even admission
 Fear not Ruffino, for it is decreed
 to the hospital is
 made by
 money.
 [leaf 18]
 Those that have meanes to give shall only speed. 1404
- Loth am I to rip vp my nurces shame,
 Or to accuse for this those schooles of fame,
 The Academies : yet for reformation
 Of this abuse, I must reprove the fashion 1408 The Universities
 Of divers seniors, which for private gaine
 are not free from
 blame.
 Permit some ignorant asse, some dunce, attaine
 A schollers or a fellowes place among 'em.
 Some think perhaps of malice I doe wrong 'em, 1412
 But the poore students know it to be true,
 Which wanting meanes, as often want their due.
 Art was not thus rejected heertofore,
 But plenty now hath made a scholler poore. 1416
 Learning was wont to be the highest staire,
 Vpon whose top was fixd preferments chaire ; Learning used to
 In which the best deserver was instald,
 be the ladder to
 preferment,
 The worthiest man to highest honour cald. 1420
 But now the world 's altred, changèd is the molde,
 And learnings step is turnd to massie golde.
 To get preferment who doth now intend,
 He by a golden ladder must ascend. 1424
 Thus cursed golde doth bear soe great a sway
 That nurseries of learning doe decay ;
 For not the meanes of taking our degrees
 Are quite exempt from bribes ; for duble fees 1428 For double fees a
 A dunce may turne a Doctour, & in state
 dunce may be a
 doctor and walk
 in scarlet.

Walke in his scarlet ! O, vnhappy fate !
 When paltry pelfe doth worthlesse ignorance
 Vnto the top of learnings mount advaunce. 1432

If a cook wants to
dress meat in
Lent,

Cucus, that faine would thrive, hath a[n] intent,
 To curry favour, to dresse meat in Lent—
 How is 't to be obtainide ? hast store of golde ?
 And canst thou spare a litle ? then be bolde, 1436
 Persue thy project, & I le vndertake

and can bribe the
overseer,

The overseers will a licence make,
 By which is granted leav to dresse for th' sickle,—
 Vnder the colour of which pretty tricke 1440
 Thou mayst make sale of it to whom thou list.

he is sure to
escape all trouble.

Sayth master mony-taker, greasd i' th' fist,
 "And if tho[u] comst in danger, for a noble
 I le stand thy friend, & healp thee out of trouble." 1444
 But these are petty crimes which now I cote,
 This vicious age acts sinnes of greater note,
 And them by greater persons, in which sence
 Th' offenders greatnesse aggravates th' offence. 1448

A ruffian com-
mitted a murder
and was appre-
hended for it.

[leaf 18, back]

Taurus, that ruffen, in his drunken fit
 An execrable murder did committe,
 For the which fact he straight was apprehended,
 And should, had right tooke place, have been con-
 demned. 1452

The Judge was
bribed, and
instead of
condemning,

But marke th' event ; his mony stood his friend,
 And sav'd the caitife from a shamefull end.
 For having the chief judge sollicited
 With bribes, from iustice him he quite misled ; 1456
 Who when he should pronounce¹ his condemnation,
 Instead therof gave him his approbation,
 Vowing there was good reason him to clear,
 'Cause 40 angels did to him appear, 1460
 Which spake him guiltlesse. O,² rare vision,
 And admirable golden apparition,

acquitted him
because '40
angels' attested
his innocence.

¹ MS. of pronounce, with *h*, and a partially-formed *a* crossed out, between the two words. ² MS. ô.

That had the power to make good such evill,
And turne a demigod into a devill !

1464

Turnus his enemy would faine supplant,
Yet how to doe it iustly, cause doth want.
His Machiavillian¹ pate doth then devise

If a man wants
to supplant his
enemy

To overthrow him by meer forgeries ;

1468

Then saith he is a traiter to his² prince,
And that he can of treason him convince.

Divers seditious wordcs are then invented,
For which he is before the judge convented ;

he accuses him
of treason and
bribes his

But there wants witnesse to confirme this lie,—

Tut, they are easily found ; his neighbours by
Are knights o' th' post,³ and for a litle coine

Will swear what ever he doth them enjo[i]ne.

1476 neighbours
 to give witness
 against him.

Thus armde, he brings to passe his damnèd will,

And like a villian guiltlesse blood doth spill.

But he & 's knights o' th' post will post to hell,

That thus their soules vnto damnation sell.

1480

Codrus to his poore cottage had some land,
With which, & with the labour of his hand,
Six little children & his sickly wife

The poor man
with six children
and a sickly
wife owns a
cottage and a bit
of land;

He did maintaine in such estate of life

1484

As his best meanes could yeild, sufficient
Because they therewithall did live content.

But now Antilegon, his neighbour by,

but his rich
neighbour
wants it for a
garden,

Because the ground did lye commodiously

For his owne vse to make a garden plot,

Hath encroacht all & sure possession got,

Which he maintaines by force. Poor Codrus is

Constraind to sue *sub formâ pauperis*,

1492

(As wanting friends & mony) to regaine

What is his owne. T' other doth entertaine

The best of counsell, & his golde 'gainst lawes

With the best of
counsel and gold
he gains his end,

O're throwes the poor man in his rightfull cause ;

1496

¹ Machiavelli died 1527. ² to his repeated in MS.

³ Professional perjurers, &c.

and the poor man Who with his family are quite vndone,
is undone.

Through this vnjust & damnd oppression.

[leaf 19]

Thus Justice eyes close vp in golden sleep,

The ravenous woolfe eats vp the harmlesse sheep. 1500

Thou wicked Ahab, which hast got possession

By such iniurious transgression,

Think that if God inflict damnation

On them that doe not take compassion

1504

Of their poore bretheren, & their wants relieve,

What will he doe to thee, which seekst to grieve

With an oppressours hand the innocent !

Being not only not to give content,

1508

But even to take away by cursed wrong

All that in right doth to the poore belong ?

Vnlesse thou doe due restitution make,

1512

And to a better life thy selfe betake ;

Vnlesse repentance purchase grace from Iove

And his iust judgements from thee quite remooue,

Surely the Lord (which doth such sinne detest)

With horrid tormentes will thy soule invest. 1516

And you, which should true equity dispense,

Yet bear a gold-corrupted conscience,

Looke for some plague vpon your heades to light,

That suffer rich wrong to oppresse poore right. 1520

All lawyers I cannot heerof accuse,

For some there are that doe a conscience vse

In their profession. This our land containes

Some in whose heart devine Astraea raignes. 1524

To these, whose vertue keeps our land in peace,

I wish all good, all happines encrease.

Go forward then, and with impartiall handes

Hold Justice ballance in faire Albians landes. 1528

If God punishes
those who have
no compassion
upon the poor,

He will most
severely punish
those who oppress
them,

especially unjust
judges.

All lawyers are
not guilty of this
sin,

and I wish all
prosperity to the
impartial.

Olde greedy minded Pandarus hath a paire
Of daughters whom the world reputeth faire,
And faire indeed they are to outward eyes,
Which not discerne inward deformities ;

1532

These, for the purchase of a litle golde, By the olde miser vnto lust are solde. This slave will even vsher his disgrace, Bringing his daughters vnto any place	1536	Pandarus sells his two daughters for gold,
Which is appointed to commerce with sinne, And himselfe keep the dore, whilst that within The shamlesse strumpetes are with lust defilde, Having the gallants of their golde beguilde.	1540	and keeps the door while their gallants are within.
Impious villaine ! to defame the fruit Of thine owne loynes, & basely prostitute Thy childrens body to such luxurie, Whom with paternall care & industrie	1544	
Thou shouldst traine vp in vertuous education, For want whereof theire horrid imprecation Will light vpon thy soule, &, which is worse, Gods fearfull plauges ¹ second thy childrens curse.	1548	[leaf 19, back] In the end his children will curse him.
Me thinkes the hellish & mad lunacy ² Of them that doe commit apostacie For gold, might well a Christian heart affright Only to hear another but recite	1552	Those who apostatize for gold are many.
So damnd a sinne ; yet every day their fall In these relapses diabolicall		
Many, too many,—Christians shall I name them ? Ah, noe ! their actions otherwise defame them.	1556	Shall I call them Christians ?
Some have tur[n]d Turkes for gaine, yet live despide After they once have been but circumeisde.		
Base slaves, which Dagon 'bove the Arcke doe set, And for true Christ adore false Mahomet.	1560	
But Mahomet, as Dagon did, shall fall, And all those wicked priests that worship Baal.		
Others, that would to high preferment come, Leave vs, & flie vnto the Sea of Rome.	1564	Some join the Church of Rome,
But how dost prosper with them being there ?		

¹ This word twice written: *plages*; the letter over the *a* is uncertain. This is crossed through and *plauges* written, but here the first *u* is blurred. ² MS. lunary. See Glossary.

Contemptibly they live, & full of feare.

an late employed
to murder
princes.

Is ther some damned enterprise in hand,
To murder princes, ruinate a land ?

1568

These be the men that must be actours in it,
Who ever were the author to beginne it.

If they refuse, 'tis death ; if they proceed
Death & damnation waites vpon their deed.

1572

Thus chaind in wre[t]ched servitude, doth live
A runagate, & English fugitive ;

Like fools they submit their necke
Vnto the slavish yoke & proudest cheeke

1576

Of Romes insulting tyrant, vpon hope

That their demerits will win larger scope ;
Many which theither dayly flocke apace

To worke their owne confusion & disgrace

1580

Witnesses their fearfull endes & wre[t]ched lives :

"But goe they must because the devill drives."

Carrier of late would have made his career

"Needs must
when the devil
drives."

(Thinking perhaps to be esteemèd dear

1584

Of th' antichristian prelate) to the citty

Of seven hillo Rome, "O, &," say some, "'twas pitty

That his (how e're they grant it lewd) intent

Met not a look't for prosperous event.

1588

For he, because his learning¹ was not small,

Might in short time have been a Cardinall."

What the successe had prov'd I dare not say,

For he was cut of from his wishèd prey ;

1592

High Iovè incensd that thus he should backslide

Stroke him, & in a neighbour land he died.

Some think he was not Apostolicall,

But alwaies in his heart papisticall ;

1596

Certaine it is, how e're they can excuse him,

The devill in this act did but abuse him.

And were he not apostate in his flight,

In his stay heer he was an hypocrite.

1600

had succeeded in
reaching Rome,
he might have
become a
Cardinal.

[leaf 20]

He was either an
apostate or a
hypocrite.

¹ MS. *learning.*

Pistor was fallen into great poverty, How come he to grow rich thus suddenly ? For he of late hath match'd his daughter well Vnto a gentleman, as I hear tell,	1604	Pistor, who was poor, matches his daughter with a rich man.
Of faire demeanes, & great extent of ground, And made her portion worth five thousand pound. Why, once within these five year (as was thought) Ten poundes would all <i>the</i> wealth he had have bought,		
And now he 's in his thousandes ! This quick change, This sodaine metamorphosis is strange. Belike he hath found out some mine of golde,		
Or else <i>the</i> Fairies bring him heapes vntolde Because he sweeps his house cleane, sets a light,	1612	Perhaps the Fairies bring him gold, perhaps a spirit.
Faire water in a basen, every night, And other pretty toyes, to doe them pleasure ; Or else some spirit shewes him hidden treasure.	1616	
O now you hitt it, 'twas indeed a spirit, To whom, for certaine tearme of yeares t' inherit His ease and pleasure with abundant wealth,		
He hath made sale of his soules dearest health. And in a deed engrost, signd with his blood,	1620	
Sould soule & body with all hope of good In heavenly ioyes to come, vnto the devill.		He has signed a contract with the devil.
O horrid act ! O execrable evill ! Another Faustus, haplesse, hopelesse man,	1624	
What wilt thou doe, when as that little sand Of thy soone emptied houreglass, is spent ?		What will he do in the end ?
When horrour of thy conscience keeps repent From thy black spotted soule ? O (but in vaine)	1628	
Thou wilt then wish (& think it ease, not paine) "That I had that estate of grace I sold		
[For the] fruition of a little golde.	1632	
Thoug[h] I liv'de ne're soe miserablle poore, And like an abject begg'd at every doore		He will be willing to be a beggar if he can
Millions of yeares, I could be well content		

¹ Originally *Why*: For written over.

thereby escapt
hell.

To 'scape the everlasting punnishment
Of hells infernall lake, & purchase heaven,
Of which for ever I am now bereaven."

Then wilt thou curse thy selfe, thy wretched fate,
The wombe that bare thee, him that thee begat ; 1640
Wish thou hadst been a beast, a sencelesse stone,
To 'scape that horrour of confusion.

He will curse all
men, but in vain.

But wishes, vowes, & horrid execration
Cannot preserve thee from damnation. 1644

So every honour
is bought and
sold : let buyers
and sellers
beware.

Thus each thing of esteem is bought and sold
For mindes-corrupting, soules-confounding golde.
Sellers take heed, & byers have a care,

This is no common ordinary ware ! 1648

[leaf 20, back]
Looke to 't betimes, lest you to late repent
The poore mans curse, earths plague, hells punnishment !

Sat[ira] 5.

[AGAINST GLUTTONY, DRUNKENNESS, AND TOBACCO.]

ARGUMENTUM.

Nobiscum in terris Epicuri vivitur instar
Delitijs: ventri milie placere mœdi.
Turpior ebrietas animam cum corpore foedat,
Et demum ad Stygias ducit vtrumque domos.

From thirst of wealth & golden villany

I now am come to brutish gluttonie,

Of which my Muse doth almost loath to treat,

It is soe base a crime, yet growne soe great

1654

In customary action, that 'tis deemd

If sinne, a smale one, not to be esteemd.

This vice doth not alone it selfe extend

T' excesse in meat, but eke doth comprehend

1658

That base vnmanly sinne of drunkennesse,

and drunkenness,
which defiles
body and soul.

Whose worse then worst of brutish beastlinesse

Defiles both soule & body, & doth bring

Both of them to eternall ruining.

1662

This age of men to *that* excesse is growne

The present age
is worse than
Sodom ever was.

That was I think in Sodome never knowne,

Although it were *that* capitall offence,

Which iustly did all-seeing Iove incense

1666

Them & their citye vtterly to quell

With fire which from heavens architecture fell.

- How can we wretches in this sinfull time
 Expect lesse vengeance for as damnd a crime ? 1670
- For to speake first of our excesse in meat,
 Though man should eat to live, not live to eate,
 Many there are which only vse their care
 In dainty banqueting and delitious fare. 1674
- What beast doth breed in our Britannicke soile
 That doth delight the tast, but we doe toile
 To take & kill ? What bird doth cut the aire
 With her swift wing, but that we doe repaire 1678
- Therwith our tables ? We doe fish all seas
 To catch the rarest dish, therby to please
 Our dainty palates : & yet fish, bests, birdes,
 Which in abundance this our land affordes, 1682
- Are not sufficient ; we must have more cates
 From other nations at excessive rates
 To furnish out our table, which (like swine
 That eat the fruit, but ne're cast vp their eyen 1686
- To the faire tree) we dayly doe devour
 Without thanksgiving to that heavenly power,
 Whose gracious goodnesse doth such blessings give,
 And suffers vs so peaceably to live 1690
- In such a land of plenty that doth flow
 With milke & hony, which we doe bestow
 To pamper our selves & please our sence
 Like Epicures ; as if alone from thence 1694
- We had our being, & vnto that end,
 The cause of our creation, did intend.
 Thus are the guistes,¹ wherwith God man doth blesse,
 Abusd'e by vaine & riotus excesse. 1698
- Like the rich gluttons in the Gospell are
 The feastes we make, from which we doe debarre
 without regarding the poor who
 crave charity at our doors. The poorer sort of men. Well may they lie
 Before our dores, & crave our charity ; 1702
- But with poore Lazarus they shall obtaine

Many care only
 for what they
 shall eat.

Every beast, bird,
 and fish is
 captured for
 their tables,

and yet they
 must have
 delicacies from
 other nations.

[leaf 21]
 We pamper
 ourselves, and
 live like epicures,

without regarding
 the poor who
 crave charity at
 our doors.

¹ MS. guistes.

- Cold comfort, & small relieve to sustaine
Their hunger-starvèd bodies, while within
The richer sort doe stand vp to the chin
In delicates, & euen with excesse,
Are like to surfeit ; while the wantonnesse
Of their insatiat appetite, that feeds
On such plurality of viands, breeds 1710
Offensive humors. This I thinke the cause
Which our rich men to such diseases drawes,
Wherwith we dayly see they are tormented,
When if with moderate fare they were contented 1714
They might both keep their bodies in good health,
And save the residue of all their wealth
To feed the hungry soule, the naked cherrish,
Which wanting succour still one heaps doe perish. 1718
- But now let me discourse of drunkennes,
Which is a part of gluttony, whose excesse
Is likewise of the belly, & is made
Even a common ordinary trade. 1722
- We count the nation of the German Dutch
The greatest drunkard, but our land as much,
Or rather more, is with this vice infected,
Which doth deserue sharply to be corrected, 1726
And yet 'tis slackly punnishd ; but 'twere good
That Dracoës [laws] for ours in vertue stood.
This vice, I say, with vs as frequent is
As with the Dutchmen, who, if I not misse
Mine aime, were the first founders of this sinne
Within our country ; but we now beginne
T' appropriate to our selves their noted vice,
So apt we are to follow each devise 1730
That tendes to wickednesse & villany ;
After forbidden things we swiftly flie,
When after that from which much good may growe,
Although by force compeld, we slowly goe. 1738
But man must follow the times fashion,
- 1706 The rich over-feed themselves,
and draw on
themselves many
of the diseases
from which they
suffer.
- Drunkenness
is common.
- We are worse
than the
Germans.
- The Dutch first
began this vice,
but we quickly
initiated and now
often excel them.

And shew himselfe an ape in imitation
Of every new found & hell-hatched sinne
Or else he is not counted worth a pinne. 1742

[leaf 21, back]
A man who
cannot sit and
drink all day
is made a jest.

He that cannot sit quaffing all the day,
Carousing healths till wit & wealth decay ;
Which will not vpon every lewd request
Drink drunk in kindenesse, why, he 's made a jest 1746
To those companions, whose licentious veine

The drunkard
sits and makes
base speeches.

And drunken humours still doe entertaine
The basest speeches, & in their mad fit
Doe speake at randome without fear or wit. 1750
How far vnlike Lacedemonians,

The Lacedemo-
nians used to
make their
slaves drunk as
a warning to
their children.

Though they were hethen & we Christians,
Are men in this our age ? To them this crime
Soe loathsome was, that they would finde a time 1754
To make *the Helottes* drunk, which wer their slaves,
A sort of loutish, abject-minded knaves ;
And being in the basest sort disguisde,
Shew them their children, mock them as despisde 1758
And debaush creatures, by their beastlynesse,
To teach their young to loath all drunkennesse.
But if others will not doe it for vs
Will¹ even fox ourselves till all abhorre vs. 1762

Well may it fit this our vntemperate age,
To shew a drunkard in his equipage.

I pass over the
man who had a
thousand dishes
at one feast,

I 'le passe Apitius, which spent all the year,
In brave carousing, & fine belly-cheer ; 1766
He that to please his senee had at one feast
His thousand severall dishes at the least,
Although he had noe other company
But his sole single selfe to satisfie ; 1770
For all *the* flesh that Noahs Arke contained,
The whole seas fish, if he had entertained
His friends, could not sufficient store afforde,
To furnish out th' insatiate gluttons borde. 1774

and by his
extravagance

¹ ? We'll.

- Thus he run one, till on[e] yeares gluttony
Brought him from millions vnto poverty :
I will omit the brave Ægyptian Dame,
Which by her death hath got eternall fame,
Proud Cleopatra, Anthonies loose minion,
Who, to obtaine her lovers good opinion,
Did in a cup of wine, drunk to his health,
Carouse dissolvèd pearles of infinite wealth ; 1778
Her great excesse & sensuall gluttony
Procurde her owne & his sad tragedie.
I 'le leave th' Assirian Sardanapalus,
With that lewd Roman, Heliogabolus ; 1782
Only their riot was the fatall knife
That cut them of from empire & from life.
Examples from soe farre I need not fetch,
We have more moderne ones within our reach ; 1790
In this our native Isle, each day, each hower
Millions of such like subiects doe ever shower
Before our eyes, which live in vaine excesse
Of soule-polluting, beastly drunkennesse. 1794
On[e] pot companion & his fashion
I will describe, & make relation
Of what my selfe have seene, that they that hear it
May hate the like, & hating may forbear it. 1798
Cervisius is a most accomplisht man,
Whether he deale at halfe pot or whole can,
No flincher, but as true a drunkard bred
As ever lifted cup vnto his head. 1802
A right good fellow, a true ioviall boy,
And on[e] that of his purse is nothing coy ;
Hee 'l spend his dozen of beer with any friend,
And fox him if he can, before hee 'l end ; 1806
I, or hee 'l fox himselfe, but that 's no wonder
The fox & he are seldome time a sunder.
But if the man, to sobernesse inclinde,
Refuse to follow his inordinate minde, 1810
brought himself
to poverty.
Cleopatra, to gain
her lover's good
opinion, drank
dissolved pearls.
Sardanapalus
lost his life not
through such
means
as millions in our
own country now
[leaf 22]
practise.
Cervisius is a
true drunkard
and a right good
fellow,
but if a man
declines to drink
with him he is

- ready to compel him. Because his nature cannot brooke to doe it,
His stab is ready to compell him to it.
This alehouse-haunter thinkes himselfe a safe
- He drinks with his companions and makes them drink with him, If he with his companions, George & Rafe, 1814
Doe meet together to drink ypscfreese
Till they have made themselves as wise as geese.
O ther this man (like lord within a hutch)
Will pay for all & ne're his mony grutch ; 1818
Th[e]y must not part till they have drunk a barrell,
Or straight this royster will begin to quarrell.
Wher e're they meet, to th' alehouse they must goe,
He sweares they shall, & they must not say noe. 1822
As soone as e're the alehouse them receives,
The tapster, duble diligent, straight leaves
His other guestes, in course to take his cup,
And make the full messe of these drunkards vp ; 1826
He knowes what best belongs vnto his gaine,
These are the men he seekes to entertaine.
Then straight into the seller hee'l them bring,—
'Tis sweetest drinking at the verry spring,— 1830
Wher as a barrell, for the nonce set out,
Must straight be pearc'd, then each must haue his bout
And drink vp all ; to leave a little snuffe
Is petty treason ; & such pretious stiffe 1834
Must not be throwne away. Thus they drink round,
Vntill their adle heads doe make the ground
Seeme blew vnto them ; till their hands doe shake,
Their tongues speak duble, & their braines do ake. 1838
But they proceed till one drop[s] downe dead drunke,
Wher he doth lie long time, a sencelesse trunk ;
And all the rest in a sweet pickle brought
(Such operation hath the barrell wrought), 1842
Lie downe beside him. One straight falles a sleep
Ready to drowne himselfe, in that doth keep
The broken beer from spoiling ; then another
Falles into spuine, & is like to smother 1846
- As it is sweetest drinking at the spring, they go into the cellar
- and drink till their hands shake and their heads are addled.
- [leaf 22, back]
One falls dead drunk, a second goes to sleep, the third is sick,

Himselfe in his owne vomit. He that least
Seemes to be drunk, yet shewes himselfe a beast,
And that 's the tapster, which hath got a tricke,
Because he would prevent his being sick, 1850

while the tapster
vomits and goes
to sleep on the
barrel.

To force himselfe to cast, then on the barrell
To take a nap. Thus ends this drinking quarrell.

After some 3 howers sleepes strong operation
Hath brought their braines into a better fashion, 1854

Three hours later
they all wake and
go to it again till
the barrel is
empty,

They gin to wake, & finding themselves ill
Of their late surfet, which hath force to kill
The strongest body, to 't afresh they goe,

To drink away their paine ; such heartsick woe 1858

By an immoderate drunkennesse procurde,

Must by "a haire of the same dog" be curde.
Then once againe the pot must keep his round,
Vntill the barrell, with his hollow sound,

1862

Fortell his emptinesse. Trivmphanty
They doe then eccho forth this victory,
As 'twere a conquest, that deserv'd with golde
In Fames eternall booke to be enrolde.

1866

But still Cervicius paies for all, his purse
Defraies all recknings ; there must none disburse

Cervisius pays
for all;

A penny but himselfe. "Tut, I have landes
Which now of late are come into my handes,

1870

And whilst they last, I will not want good drink,
Nor boon companions. Wherfore was my chinck
Made but to spend ? And can 't be better spent

so long as he has
money he will
not want good
drink,

Then 'mongst good laddes in ioviall mermint ? 1874

Faith, no. Flie, brasse ! More precious I do holde
Maltes pure quintessence then king Harries golde.

Good liquor breeds good blood, good blood best health,
And that 's a iewell to be priske 'bove wealth. 1878

which breeds
good blood, and
good blood best
health.

Drink round, sweet George, to me, my turne is next,
And I'le charge honest Rafe ; let 's ply our text
Without digression. Tapster, take your bout,
Leave not a drop, you'r best, but drink all out. 1882

He thinks the
four would beat
any four in
Europe.

This conceit
makes him dry,
and he drinks
hoping to meet
again next day.

[leaf 23]

In the end comes
poverty, and it
alone sticks to
him.

Another scorns
to get drunk on
beer or bottled-
ale.

Nepenthe to him
falls far short of
delicious wine,

Why soe, brave boyes, this gear doth cotten well,
I think we foure might win *the silver bell*
Of any 4 in Europe, for our drink.
Let 's make a challenge, Rafe ; I doe not think 1886
But we shall put downe all that dare contest
With vs in this, if we but doe *our best*.
And yet ther were 4 roring boyes, they say,
That drunk a hogshead dry in one poor day. 1890
Tapster, some beer ; the conceit makes me dry !
Heer honest rogue, night partes good cumpany ;
But my good ladies, let 's meet againe to morrow,
And at this fountaine we will drinke downe sorrowe."

Thus he runs on his course, til 's drunken vaine
Ruines his substance, makes him entertaine
For his companion penurious want.—
All other friends doe then wax wondrous scant ; 1898
But this alone, when men fall in decay,
Will never leave them till their dying day.
His substance poore, his soule more poore in grace,
Getes him contempt on earth, in hell a place 1902
Of everlasting paine, vnesse the smart
Of misery reforme his wicked heart.
For sometimes want & hard calamity
Even Athiestes turnes to Christianity. 1906

But Bacchanall is of a higher straine,
He scornes soe base a thought to entertaine,
As to drink drunk with beer or bottle-ale ;
Noe, he contemnes the vse, that fashion 's stale. 1910
Marry, your true elixar, all rare wine,
That doth enspire, & make the thoughts divine !
Whie, he esteemes the nectar of the goddes,
Homers Nepenthe, to come short by oddes 1914
Of [this] delicious iuice. Rich Malago,
Canarie, Sherry, with brave Charnico ;
Phalerno, with your richest Orleance wine,
Pure Rhenish, Hippocras, white Muskadine, 1918

- With the true bloud of Bacchus, Allegant,
That addes new vigour which the backe doth want
Are precious wines. Marrie, your white or Charret
Is but so so ; he cares not greatly for it ; 1922
and claret is but
"so-so."
- But for the rest, whose vertuous operation
Doth cheer the heart opprest with passion,
Doth rapsodize the soules intelligence
Above the levell of inferiour sence, 1926
Wines cheer the
heart and elevate
the senses.
- Why, had he to his wish the cranes long necke
To tast with more delight, he would not wrecke
Of all celestiall ioyes ; this were a treasure
To be preferd above that heavenly pleasure. 1930
If Bacchanal had
but the neck of a
crane, to taste
with more
delight !
- From thine owne mouth, thou beastly Epicure,
Dost thou condemne thy selfe, thou shalt be sure
Never indeed to tast celestiall bliss !
 But know withall (though thou those joyes doe misse)
That thou (when as thy soule will be agast) 1935
 Shalt of the cup of Godes iust vengeance tast !
- Fower kindes of drunkardes this our age hath quoted,
Which, since by observation I have noted, 1938
There are four
kinds of
drunkards:
 It shall not be amisse heer to insert,
 That we may know how much each doth pervert
 The soule of man. The first is merry drunk,
 And this, although his braunes be somewhat shrunk
 I' th' wetting, hath, they say, but little hart 1943
1. The merry
drunk : his sport
is called
harmless;
 In his demeanour ; to make harmles sport
 Is all his practise. In what fashion ?
 Is baudie talke, & damnèd prophanation 1946
 Of Godes most holy name, a harmlesse thing ?
 Are apish tricks & toies, which vse to bring
 Men in dirision, sportes to breed delight ?
 Is that which makes the soule as black as night, 1950
 Which takes away the perfect vse of sence,
 Which is the high way to incontinence,
 A thing of nothing ? Whic, if this be soe,
 I graunt you then a drunken sot may goo 1954
[leaf 23, back]
 but bawdy talk
 and apish tricks
 are not harmless.

For one that is innocuous ; otherwise
 He is a beast & worse, let that suffice.
 And if this be the hurtlesse sport you meant,
 Iove keepe me from such harmlesse merriment. 1958

2. The maudlin
 drunk, whose
 drink seems to
 fall from his eyes.

Women can ery
 when they will,

but he only when
 he's drunk.

If you'll sit and
 swill with him
 he's happy.

Once a wealthy
 young gentleman

let out his land
 to a crafty old
 fox,

who knew on
 which side his
 bread was
 buttered.

The second kinde we maudline drunkardes call.
 I thinke the humid stuffe they drink doth fall
 Out of their eyes againe, for they distill
 Teares in great plenty. Woemen when they will 1962
 Can weep, we say, but these doe never cry
 Except they first be drunk ; but then they dry
 The fountaine of their teares quite vp before
 They cease from weeping, or doe once give o're 1966
 Their dolefull lamentation. I suppose
 The name of "Maudline drunk" from hence arose.
 This kinde of drunkard is the kindest creature
 That ever did converse with mortall nature ; 1970
 When he is in his fit, you may commaund
 All that he has, his purse, his heart, his hand,
 To do you service ; why hee 'l ever kill
 Your heart with kindenesse, soe you 'l sit & swill 1974
 In his loathld presence ; keep him company
 And he is pleasde, ther 's his felicity.

And now I call to minde an accident
 That did befall to one of his lewd bent, 1978
 One of these maudline drunkards (I will passe
 Over it briefly). In this sort it was :
 A certain wealthy-left young gentleman,
 One that had more skill how to quaffe a can 1982
 Then manage his revenewes, for his ease
 Put out the best part of his land to lease,
 And had to tennant an olde crafty fox,
 Who, though his landlord made him a right oxe, 1986
 Knewe for all that on which side of his bread
 The sweetnesse of the butter was yspread ;
 Knew how to turn all to his best of gaine,
 And therfore did with patience entertaine 1990

Of his deer hopes he keeps, & when the fit
 Hath quite depryde my gallant of his wit,
 Hee'l make his landlord set both hand & seale
 To this new lease. Men of experience deale 2030
^{Men act for their own advantage.}
 To their best proffit; & it were as good
 That he should be a gainer as the brood
 Of eut-throat vintners. Well, to make short worke,
 My gentleman, his braines as light as corke 2034
 With brave carrousing, fals to his odd vaine
 Of weeping kindenesse; nay, seemes to complaine
 That his kinde offer findes noe acceptation!
 Olde Gray-beard knowes his cue, & by gradation 2038
 Still drawes him one, till the kinde foole protestes
 Were the indentures drawne, so firme he restes
 In his opinion, ther should be a match,
 And his hand soone should all the rest despatch. 2042
 Straight vpon this are the indentures brought;
 Witnesse there needs not, for the house¹ is fraught
 With store [of] guestes; then the kinde harted gull
 Seales and subscribes to all: his wits are dull 2046
 And seneclesse of this wrong. Thus is he² shorne
 Of eight score poundes a year for one poore corne
 Of pepper, & the lease, that hath noe flawe,
 For a whole hundred yeares is good in lawe. 2050

But now to passe this & to make reporte
 Of lyon-drunkards, which is the third sorte.
 Your lyon-drunkard is a kinde of man
 That in his fitt will rage, sweare, curse, & banne, 2054
 Break glasses, & throw pottes against the wall,
 Quarrell with any man, & fight with all
 That yield not to his rage. Mad Hercules,
 In the extreamest rage of his disease, 2058
 Clad in the shirt which Deianira sent,
 Dipt in the blood of Nessus, to prevent

^{The landlord complains that his offer is not accepted.}

^{Then the indenture is produced and signed, and he is robbed.}

[leaf 24, back]

3. "Lion-drunkards" come next.

^{They are far worse than Hercules.}

¹ A letter like *O* is written before the word *house*.

² M^s. this is the

His love to Iôle, when the poyson boyld In every veine, & with the torment spoilde And quite bereaft him of true reasons vse, Making him teare vp trees, & break all truce With man & beast, was not yet halfe soe madde As this outragious drunkard, nor soe bad	2062	This drunkard is worse than a madman.
T' encounter with ; for this man is indeed Worse then a mad man. Let that man take heed Which comes within his reach ; vnlesse he have More lives then one, this wretch will dig his grave.	2066	
These are <i>the men that make soe many fraies,</i> That stab & kill soe many now adayes, On whom just vengeance oftentimes attendes, Bringing their lives vnto most shamefull endes.	2071	These are they who commit so many murders.
The fowerth & last kinde of this drunken crewe Is beastly drunk, & these men vse to spue, Lying in gutters, & in filthy mire, More like to swine then men. Promethean fire	2074	
Is quite extinct in them ; yea, vse of sence Hath within them noe place of residence. Some of this kinde, as if a deadly potion Had wrought th' effect, doe seeme to have no motion	2078	4. The beastly drunk, who lie in gutters like swine.
Of vitall faculties ; a man would deeme	2083	
That they were dead indeed, for soe they seeme, When only superfluity of drink Deceives the eye, & makes <i>the heart misthink.</i>	2086	
On[e] of these men (I am about to tell Noe fable, reader, therfore marke it well) Vpon mine owne moste true intelligence, Being dead drunk i' th' time of pestilence,	2090	One of these was missed during the pestilence which raged in 1603. [See Defoe's <i>History of the Plague of 1665</i> , p. 68, ed. Bohn.]
Was thought t' have dile o' th' plague, & seeming dead, Was amongst others alive burièd. But being by some of his companions mist,	2094	
And diligent enquirie made, they wist At length what was beeome of him, & went Vnto his place of buriall, with intent		

He had been
buried alive.

[leaf 25]

This serves as an
example of God's
hatred of this
sin.

But a certain
physician says
it is necessary
to drink.

He must be an
atheist or an
Epicure.

He denies the
immortality of
the soul.

If it were possible to save his life.

The grave digd vp, they saw with how great strife 2098
The drunken man, to wonted sence restorde,
Had vsde himselfe, being all wth blood begorde
With violence to help himselfe was wrought,
But all in vaine ; for not the aide they brought, 2102
Which came too late, nor his owne power, could shend
This wretched man from a moste fearfull end.

Surely this iust example doth expresse,
How much God hates this beastly wickednesse. 2106
Yet sinfull man, whose very heart should bleed
With recordation of soe straunge a deed,
Is not reformd a iot from this lewd sinne,
But every day more deeply plungèd in. 2110
Nay, drunkennesse hath got an arch-defender,
Yea, more then that, a principall commander,
A great phisitian, which prescribes some dayes
Wherin 'tis necessary, as he saies, 2114
To drink drunk for the bodies better health,
And being done in private & by stealth,
It is a thing of nothing ! What phisitian,
Whose vertuous minde, religious condition,
Speak him a Christian, would once entertaine
Soe vilde a thought, or such a lye maintaine ?

It is some at[h]eist sure, vpon my life,
Some Epicure, for 'mongst such men ar[e] rife 2122
These damnd opinous ; on[e] that knowes noe God,
Was neuer scourgèd with afflictions rod,
And therfore lulld a sleep in pleasures lap,
Securely sinnes, & feares no after-clap. 2126
This man, which only setteth vp his rest
In that which man communicates with beast,
The soule of sence, denies th' eternity
Of th' intellectual part, & doth apply 2130
All his endeavours to delight the sence ;
Noe marle though he wth drunkennesse dispence,

- Which, though it may the bodies health secure,
The soules continuall death it doth procure. 2134
- Old Monsier Gray-beard with your poynts vntrust,
Dublet vnbsp;buttoned, ready for your lust ;
You, which the chamber wher you lay your head
With baudie pictures round about doe spread ; 2138
- Which make your maide daunce naked to your eyes,
Only to see her veines & arteries ;
Which hast given out this foolish prophesie,
That, vnlesse throngd to death, thou ne're shalt die ;
And therfore neither vnto church nor faire, 2143
- Nor any publicke meeting darst repaire,
But idlie livest at home in ease, secure,
A very atheist, & meer Epicure, 2146
- This is your axiome, “drunkennesse is good
To clear the stomach, & to purge the blood.”
- Well maist thou be a good phisitian
But I am¹ certaine a bad Christian. 2150
- After the killing of some hundred men,
And yet I scarcely recken one for ten,
To trie the working of thy minerals,
Thy hearbes, thy drugges & such materials,
Perhaps some litle knowledge thou hast gaind
To ease the head or stomach, being painde ;
To help an ague-shaken bodie, cure
A fever, dropsie, gout, or eicature ; 2158
- All this, & more then this, as farre as nature
Permites thy skill to healp a mortall creature,
Suppose thou canst performe ; graunt thou couldst give
To a dead body force againe to live, 2162
- As poetes faine that Æsculapius
Did to vnjustly slaine Hypolitus ;
Yet all thy skill wherof thou makst thy vaunt
Is nothing worth, because thou standst in want
Of the true knowledge of thy soules salvation,
- Old Gray-beard
who hangs his
chamber with
baudy pictures,
- thinks he will
only die by being
thronged.
- He too thinks
drunkenness good
sometimes.
- [leaf 25, back]
- 2154 In his exper-
iments to test his
drugs he has
killed many.
- 2166 Though he has
learned some-
thing, yet,
ignorant of his
soul, his learning
is useless.

¹ Not unlike *ar* in MS.

We may not do
evil that good
may come.

Drunkenness
darkens the
splendour of
our country,

and makes man
worse than a
beast.

Besides ale and
wine, we now
have Tobaceo,

a rare Indian
weed of great
virtues,

- The sweetnesse of whose only contemplation,
The vertue of thy art doe passe, as farre
As bright Apollo doth the meanest starre. 2170
- Which if thou knewst, it would thee quickly teach
Another lesson, far above thy reach
Of principles in phisick:¹—that noe evill
(Which had it's first begin[ing] from *the devill*) 2174
Though good ensue therby, must be committed,
Yea though the ill with more good be requitted.
How much more then soe horrible a crime
As drunkennesse, whose putrefactious slime 2178
Darkens the splendour of our common wealth,
Must not be acted to seeure the health
Of *the* base body (I doe call it base
In reference to the soule), so to deface 2182
The purer part of man; yea, by such action,
The loathsomnesse of whose infection
Makes man, indued with reason, worse then beast;
Both soule & body doe become vnblest, 2186
Vnsanctifièd members, & vnesse
God's grace in time this wickednesse represse,
Th' all² both together perish, & remaine
In hels eternally tormenting paine. 2190
- Besides ale, beer, & sundry sortes of wine
From forren nationes, whose more fruitfull vine
Yeilds plenty of god Bacchus, we have got
Another kinde of drinke, which well I wot 2194
Is of smale goodnesse, though *our* vaine delight
Follow it with excessive appetite;
And that's Tobacco, a rare Indian weed,
Which, because far feteht only, doth exceed 2198
In vertue all *our* native hearbes,—for what?
For many pretious vses, vertues that

¹ The sense seems to require “*the reach of principles in phisick*,” or, “thy reach in principles of phisicke.”

² MS. *Th' all* for they 'll.

- May be applide to phisicke ? Graunt it soe,
 Although I see great reason to say noe ; 2202
 How can that iustifie our common taking
 In such excesse, our even for that forsaking
 All other nutrime[n]tes ? Doe we applie
 Phisick in this sorte ? If I should say I,
 I should belie my knowledge ; phisicks vse
 Serv's only to reforme the knowne abuse
 Of the distemperel body, & must be
 But seldome, & with medioerity, 2210
 Applide on speciaall causes when they fall ;
 To take Tobace^ thus were phisicall,
 And might perhaps doe good ; but this excesse
 And ordinarie practise, questionlesse, 2214
 Annoyes th' internall partes & makes them foule,
 But I am sure commaculates the soule.
 Yet in these dayes hee 's deemd a very gull
 That cannot take Tobacco ; every skull 2218
 And skip-iacke now will have his pipe of smoke,
 And whiff it bravely till hee 's like to choke.
 You shall have a poore snake, whose best of meanes
 Is but to live on that he dayly gleanes 2222
 By drudgery from others, which will spend
 His pot of nappy ale vpon his friend,
 And his Tobacco with as ioviall grace,
 As if he were a lord of some faire place 2226
 And great revenewes ! " Tut, why should he not ?
 I hope a man may spend what he hath got,
 Without offence to any. What he spendes
 Is his owne monie, & among his friendes 2230
 He will bestowe it." I, & doe see still,
 Follow the swinge of thy vngoverned will,
 See what 'twill bring thee too ; for I fore see
 Thy end wilbe both shame & beggerie. 2234
 Whom have we yonder with a pipe at 's head ?
 He lookes as if he were true Indian bred.
- [leaf 26]
which, even if
good in itself,
cannot justify
the excessive use
of it.
- Physic is used
seldom and with
moderation,
- and if tobacco
were so used it
might do good.
- But now every
skip-jack must
have his pipe
- an^a pot of ale.
- And why should
a man not spend
what is his own ?

- Fumoso is the
best of smokers; O, 'tis Fumoso with the tallow face,
He that of late hath got a speciall grace, 2238
And that's to be *the* best Tobacconist
That ever held a pipe within his fist.
- but he has ruined
himself by the
practice; It cost him dear enough ; for *the* fame goes
It has smokd out all his living at his nose 2242
To purchase this rare skill. But hee 'l repaire
This losse with greater wealth vnto a haire,—
He has the rediest meanes this gap to stop.
- he means to regain
his wealth by
selling tobacco
and bottled ale. "What's that ?" Why he intends to keep a shop 2246
For smoke & bottle-ale, which soone will drawe
Good store of gallantes (even as iet doth strawe)
Vnto his custome, &, for greater gaine,
A bonny lasse or two hee 'l entertaine. 2250
- [leaf 26, back] As take me e're a shop subvrbian
That selles such ware, without a curtezane,
And we will have the deed cronologizde,
Nay it may well be now immortalizde. 2254
Doth a tobacco pipe hang before the dore,
'Tis a sure signe within ther is a whore.
"A whore," sayes he ; "O, fie ! you speake to broad ;
A punek, or else one of the dealing trade ; 2258
And such a one I mean to keep, & she
Will help, I hope, to keep & maintaine me.
O, 'tis the only thriving meanes of all
- He will purchase
riches in
abundance, To rayse mans fortunes vp by womans fall." 2262
An excellent project, follow thy designe,
And thou shalt purchase a rich golden mine,
And hell with all to boote ;—soe thou hast golde
It makes noe matter. But perhaps being olde, 2266
One foote already within Charons bote,
Thou thinkst it time enough to change thy cote
To a more Christian habit, if th' intend,
How vile so e're thy life have been, thine end 2270
Shalbe repentant, though thou doe deferre
To the last minute, yet thou darst aver
- but must lose his
soul in the end.

'Twill be sufficient. From the theefe o' th' crosse
 Thou dost example take ; God seekes the losse 2274
 Of no mans soule ; his Sonne he therfore gave
 The soules of sinners, soe we are all, to save.

Thou silly sott, how well thou canst invent 2278
 Against thy selfe to make an argument !
 Foole, Foole ! Not every dying man shall enter,
 That saith "Lord, Lord," into the heavenly center
 Of everlasting blisse ; true faith must be
 The only meanes to this eternity. 2282

And how doth that but by good workes appear,
 Good woorkes are true faiths handmaides, & are dear
 In the Almighties eyes, though (I confesse)

Not of sufficient power to release 2286
 The soule from everlasting punnishment
 (As papistes doe persuade by argument)
 And purchase heaven. Godes mercy, not deserte
 Of mortall man, can heavenly ioyes impart. 2290

But to returne to thee which thinkst to die
 In the true faith, yet livst in villanie ;
 That makst account to purchase heavenly grace
 At thy last hower, yet dayly sinst apace ; 2294
 Presumptuous slave, thy error doth deceive thee,
 And of those heavenly ioes will quite bereave thee !
 For if the truth thou doe exactly seanne,
 As is the life, so is the end of man. 2298

Wheras the theefs example thou dost bring,
 Who being ready, his last requiem sing
 Vpon the crosse, was in that instant hower
 From shamefull death to the celestiall bower
 Of Paradise transported ; learne to know
 That this example was indeed to shew
 Gods mercy infinite, his power to save,
 Though man belike to drop into his grave. 2306
 The vse of this we rightly may applie
 To comfort them whose huge iniquity

Faith only can
 gain a man
 admission to
 heaven.

and faith shows
 itself in good
 works.

They who hope
 to purchase
 heaven at the
 last hour are
 deceived.

The example of
 the thief on the
 Cross was only to
 [leaf 27]

comfort such as

are oppressed
with sin, and to
keep them from
despair.

Their conscience doth oppresse, & make them faint,
Lest black dispaire their guilty soules attaint. 2310

But as this one, so but this only one,
To keep man from such damnd presumption
As thou dost fall into, Godes word containes,

How darst thou then presume? Wher are thy braines?
How is thy judgement from truth alienated? 2315

How is thy soule, which should be consecrated
Vnto Godes service, dedicat to sinne,

To such presumpteous sinne? If thou shouldst winne
All thy lives precious time to clear this blot, 2319

To purge thy conscience of soe foule a spot,
To wash thy sinne in true repentant teares,

Yet all thy sorrowes, all thy Christian cares
Are not sufficient to appease Godes wrath. 2322

Vnlesse his mercy helpe to expiate¹

The foulnesse of thi crime; without his grace,
Hell shalbe thy perpetuall dwelling place. 2326

Nothing that
man can do will
appease God's
wrath.

Gluttons, drunk-
ards, and
Epicures,

And you rich gluttons, drunkardes, Epicures,
Whom carnall sence & appetite immures
From God & goodnesse, think not (though you live
Like beast(s) that you noe strict account shall give 2330

How you have spent your time, consumd'e your treasure,
Livd' brutishlie in ease, delight, & pleasure.

Yes, for each act, for every word & thought,
Before Godes high tribunal being brought, 2334

You must all answeare, yet you wilbe mute,
For your owne conscience will your cause confute.

Then to your terrour shall that sentence be,
“Depart ye cursed to helles miserie!” 2338

But I too long vpon this vice have staide,
Ther's something else of others to be saide.

will appear before
the Judgment
Seat of God.

2340

¹ So in MS.

Sat[ira] 6.

[AGAINST LASCIVIOUSNESS.]

ARGUMENTUM.

Vndique squalenti seelerata libidine terra
Affluit, & templis spargitur vsque Venus;
Luxurians ætas læna, meretrice, cinædo
Polluitur, mœchos angulus omnis alit.

- | | | |
|---|------|---|
| Having discoursd of sensuall gluttonie,
It followes now I speake of veneerie ;
For these companions as inseperable
Are linckt together with sinnes ougly cable ; | 2344 | Excess of
delicates is the
heart of lust. |
| The heart of lust's excesse in delicates,
And in this vice the soule precipitates.
Lot was first drunk, & in this drunken fit
He that incestuous sinne did straight committ. | 2348 | Lot was drunk
when he sinned. |
| But I leave recordes of antiquity
And take me to this times iniquity.
Lust, as a poysen that infects <i>the</i> blood,
Boyles in the veines of man ; the raging floud | 2352 | [leaf 27, back] |
| Of Neptunes kingdome, when th' impetuous might
Of the fierce windes doth make it seem to fight
With monstrous billowes 'gainst the loftie cloud,
Is calmer then the sea of lust, though loud | 2356 | Now lust as a
poison infects the
blood, |
| Vnto the eare of sence, & is more safe ;
For this can only drowne the worser hafe | | |

and if ever a
nation were
defiled it is
our own.

Both sexes and
all ages are given
to this sin.

Popish priests
are guilty notwithstanding
their vows.

One country
parson keeps
his whore,

while another
defiles his
neighbour's wife,

- Of man, the bodie ; but lustes ocean
O'rewhelms both soule & body ; yet fond man 2360
Runnes in this gulfe of sinne without all stay,
And wilfully doth cast himselfe away.
- If ever age or nation with this crime
Were beastiallie defilde, now is the time, 2364
And ours that nation, whose libidinous heat,
Whose fire of brutish lust, is growne soe great
That it doth threaten with proud Phaeton
To give the world a new combustion. 2368
- Both sexes, each degree, both young & olde,
Themselves vnto this filthy sinne have solde ;
Yea, even the tribe of Levie (which should be
The mirrours of vnsotted chastety) 2372
Are slaves to lust ! I speake not this alone
Of Popish priestes, which make profession
Of an immaculate virginity,
Yet live in whoredome & adultery ; 2376
But alsoe to our elergie, which to blame,
Preach continenee, but follow not the same.
And their example's able to seduce
Well given mindes vnto this knowne abuse ; 2380
For euery man doth vse in imitation
To follow his instructours fashion.
The country parson may, as in a string,
Lead the whole parish vnto any thing. 2384
- Eulalius hath had good education,
Pens sermons well, hath good pronuntiation,
Stiflie inveighs 'gainst sinne, as gluttonie,
Pride, envie, wrath, sloth, brutish lecherie, 2388
Covetousnes, & such like, no man more,—
Yet every man can tell he keeps a whore.
Philogonus doth love his lust as well,
But he would clear from all suspition dwell ; 2392
'Tis safest gutting at a loafe begunne,
And therfore he his neighbour[s] wife hath wonne

- To be his paramour ; they may suspect,
 But hee's soe wary, no man can detect 2396
 His close encounters. O, but heers the spite,
 On[e] wench cannot suffice his appetite ! but is not
 satisfied with one
 or two.
- His first must then be baude vnto another,
 She to a third, the daughter to the mother, 2400
 Til like the parish bull he serves them still, [leaf 28]
 And dabbes their husbandes clean against their will.
- But he that knew him not, & heard him preach,
 Would think it were impossible to teach 2404
 Virtue with such a fervent seeming zeale,
 And yet thus looslie in his actions deale.
- You lustfull swine ! that know the will of God,
 Yet follow your owne waies, think that his rod 2408
 (For soe he saith himselfe) shall scourge your sinne
 With many stripes ;—with you he will beginne.
- The greater man, the higher is the evill
 He doth committ, & he the viler devill. 2412
 Turne convertites, & make true recantation,
 And leave at last to act your owne damnation,
 Lest your reward be Godes just vengeance,
 And hell your portion & inheritance. 2416
- Sempronia's married to a gentleman
 That in the joyes of Venus little can ;
 'Tis very likely, & you may believe her,
 And you, her honest neighbours, should relieve her.
 Saith lustfull Spurio, "Would she me accept, 2421
 I'de pawne my head to please her e're I slept,
 And save the paines of suing a divorce."
 Yet Messalina doth, without remorse 2424
 Of conscience for the act, take to her bed
 A second husband ere the first be dead,
 With whom she lives but an adulteresse
 In brutish sinne & sensuall beastlinesse. 2428
 Pray Iove he please her well, or, though't be strange,
 This second for a third I fear shee 'I change.

If a man heard
 him preach he
 would think he
 could not sin
 thus.

Let him repent,
 or God will judge
 and condemn
 him.

2421 Women, for
 various reasons,

are guilty of
 adultery.

The incest of
Cæsar Borgia,

and Alexander VI.

The young wife
deceives her
husband,

and robs him to
put money into
the hands of her
lover.

[leaf 28, back]

Let the man who
has escaped the
penalty for rape
be careful.

- Borgia 's in quiet, & is let alone,
Although his sister & his whore be one ; 2432
The father likewise doth (a hellish fact !)
With his owne daughter cursed incest act.
Who dares to let him ? Hee 's a great commander,
Romes triple crownèd Pope, Sixt Alexander ! 2436
Incestuous slaves ! think you to scape *the rod*
Of the Almighty sinne-revenging God ?
No, though the world doe wink at *your* offence
God never will with wickednesse dispence. 2440
- Sulpitia, leave at last to wrong thy spouse,
Lest thou the furious sleeping lion rouse ;
Desist to act thy aged husbandes scorne,
He hath olde plenty, give him not the horne, 2444
And I 'le not tell the world thy hatefull sinne,
How full of luxury thy life hath been,
How many severall lovers thou hast had,
How often thou hast faind to see thy dad, 2448
That by such meanes thou mightst have free accesse
To meet thy paramour. Nor will I presse
Thy conscience with recitall of *that* ill
When thou, thy letchers purse with golde to fill, 2452
Emtiedst thy husbandes bagges ; the diamond ringes,
The sutes of sattin, & such pretty thinges,
Which thou, as pledges of thy lewd desire,
Gavst to thy sweetheart for his lustfull hire, 2456
I 'le not once name ; no, I will hold my peace,
Soe thou wilt from thy filthy lust surcease.
- Drugo, although thou lately didst escape
The daunger of the lawe, which for a rape 2460
Awardeth death, be wise & sinne noe more,
Least *that* thou run soe much vpon *the* score
Of wickednesse, that thou canst never pay it ;
And soe for want of meanes how to defraie it, 2464
By death arrested, in helles prison cast,
Thou pine in torment which shall ever last.

- | | | |
|--|------|---|
| Sodomeo scorneth women ; all his joy | | Sodomy is not unknown in the land. |
| Is in a rarely featurde lively boy, | 2468 | |
| With whom (I shame to speake it) in his bed | | |
| He plaies like Iove with Phrigian Ganimede. | | |
| Monster of men, worse then the sensuall beast ! | | |
| Which by instinct doth follow the behest | 2472 | |
| Of nature in his kinde, but thou dost fall | | |
| Into a sinne that's moste vnnaturall. | | |
| Degenerate bastard ! by some devill got, | | Such men must be the children of the devil. |
| For man could never, sure, beget a spot | 2476 | |
| Of such vncleanness ; how dost dare enaet | | |
| Soe damnd a crime, soe lewde a loathsome fact ? | | |
| Dost thou not fear that iust Iove, in his ire, | | |
| Will raine downe brimstone & consuming fire ; | 2480 | |
| As in his wrath, though many ages since, | | |
| He did one Sodome, whose concupiscence, | | |
| Like thine, deservde black helles damnation ? | | |
| Or that some fearfull invydation | 2484 | |
| In his swift streme, should hurry thee to hell, | | He who punished Sodom will punish them. |
| With damnèd fiendes & torturde ghoastes to dwell ? | | |
| Methinks such thoughts as these should purge thy soule, | | |
| And keep thy bodie from an act so foule. | 2488 | |
| But 'tis noe marvell though thou be not free | | |
| From the contagion of this villanie, | | |
| When the whole land 's thus plagued ¹ with this sore, | | |
| Whose beastlinesse then now was never more : | 2492 | |
| In Academie, country, eitty, Courte, ² | | The Universities, the City, |
| Infinite are defiled with this spurt. | | |
| O, grant, my dearest nourse, from whose full brest | | |
| I have suukt all (if ought I have) that's best, | 2496 | |
| Suffer me to condole the misery | | |
| Which thou gronst ynder by this villanie ! | | and the Court, are alike guilty. |

¹ Spelling uncertain: it appears to have been *plagued*, but the *i* is undotted and the *e* is blurred.

² MS. Corrte.

- I grieve at the vices which prevail at the Universities.
[leaf 29]
- How many towardly young¹ gentlemen
(Instead of ink, with teares I fill my pen 2500
To write it) sent vnto thee by theyr friendes
For art & education, the true endes
Their parentes aime at, are with this infection
Poysned by them whose best protection 2504
Should keep them from all sinne ! Alacke the while !
Each pedant Tutoour should his pupill spoile.
O, how I grieve at this vnhappy fate,
Because this vice is soe inveterate, 2508
Grown to so strong a custome that (I fear)
The world shall end ere they this sinne forbear !
But I leave thee with my best exoration
For thy moste speedy & true reformation. 2512
- I pray for a speedy reformation.
- Nothus, without crossing the sea,
has been into France.
- Nothus which came into the world by chaunce
At a bye window, hath been late in France,
Yet never crost the seas, it cannot bee ;
'Tis newes that passes our capacity ! 2516
'Tis soe, & by th' event I wilbe tride,
For I am sure hee's hugely Frenchifide,
Gallicus morbus is his owne, I swear,
He has it paide him home vnto a haire. 2520
- Let those pity him who choose ;
he gets none from me.
- Pitty him they that list, soe will not I,
Hee's instly plagud for his damnd luxurie,
He might have keapt his whore-house-haunting feet
Out of Piethatch, the Spitle, Turnboll street ;² 2524
He might, forewarld, have left his pockie drabbes,
They must have veriuice that will squeeze such crabbes.
But he had cause to love a puncke the more,
Because his mother was an arrant whore. 2528
- Claudia has caught a clap.
- I cannot chuse but grieve at the mishap
Of Clondia, which of late hath caught a clap.
Alack, poore wench ! the trust of promise marriage

¹ MS. goung. It may have been originally *goune*, as the final letter seems to have been altered. Cf. Taylor, "Gownmen," Works, fo. p. 178.

² All notorious haunts of prostitutes.

- Hath loded thee with an vnusuall carriadge. 2532 A promise of marriage has been her ruin.
- Take comfort lasse, & I a time will spie
To shew thy lover his discourtesie,
And though he have thee in this sort beguilde,
He shall give somewhat to bring vp the childe ; 2536
- A litle mony from the law will quite thee,
Fee but the Sumner, & he shall not cite thee ;
Or if he doe, only for fashion sake,
The lawe of thee shall no advantage take. 2540
- Fee the summoner and the law will hold you innocent.
- And though due pannance thou deservest to doe
For tredding thus awry thy slippery shoe,
Be not dismaide at all ; if thou dost flow
In thy frank guiftes, & thy golde freely stow, 2544
- The principlall will make thy pannance ebbe.
- The Comissaries court 's a spiders webbe,
That doth entangle all the lesser flies,
But the great ones break through ; it never ties 2548
- The Commis-sary's court is like a cobweb which only holds small flies.
- Them in his circling net. Wher golde makes way
Ther is no interruption, noe delay
Can hinder his proceeding ; therfore, wench, [leaf 29, back]
- Thou maist with a bolde face confront the bench. 2552
- If thy forerunners bribes have made thy peace,
Thy shame shall vanish, but thy sinne encrease,
And when thou once hast scaped this annoy,
Goe to it roundly for another boy ; 2556
- Bribery will cover your shame,
- Lose not an inch of pleasure, though thou gaine,
For momentarie ioyes, eternall paine.
But yet be sure, if thou still goe about
To play the drab, my pen shall paint thee out, 2560
- but increase your sin.
- And thy lewde actes vpon thy forehead score,
That all the world may note thee for a whore.
- O Linceus,¹ that I had thy searching eye ! 2564
- Then would I in each seeret corner prie,
To finde the hidden knaveryes of this age,
- If I had the eyes of Linceus I could expose the vices of this age.

¹ Linceus, one of the Argonauts, could see through the earth, and distinguish objects at a great distance.

Then Glabria
should be
exposed,

Lusco's sin
should be noted,

Seilla's disguise
ripped off;

Galla should not
tempt the actor
with presents.

None should
escape me;
I would expose
all.

It was once
my fortune

- And lay them open to this paper stage.
 Then Glabria should not, with her wanton eye,
 Allure faire Quintus to her villanie, 2568
 But I would straight detect her for the crime,
 And hinder their appoynted meeting time.
 Then Lusco, 'cause his wife's in years decaide,
 Should not entise to ill her waiting maide, 2572
 But I would spie them out, & note¹ them downe,
 To her discredit & his smale renowne.
 Then Scilla, 'cause she might without suspect
 Play the lewd harlot, & none might detect 2576
 Her lustfull conversation, should not hide
 Her loosnesse in a masculine outside,
²But with my pen I soone would her vncase,
 And lay her open to noe mean disgrace. 2580
 Then Galla, that insatiate citty dame,
 (Which loves a player, 'cause he hath *the fame*
 Of a rare Actour, & doth in his part
 Conquer huge giantes, & captive the hart 2584
 Of amarous ladies) should not him intice,
 Prone (as all players are) vnto this vice,
 With goodlie presentes. I their match would lett,
 Or catch them sleeping in a Vulcanes nett, 2588
 And having caught them to *the world display*
 How lusty Mars with lustfull Venus lay.
 Then lustfull Iove, what shape soe e're he tooke
 Should not deceive mine eye, nor scape my booke. 2592
 Thy lust Pasiphae I 'de sett to th' full,
 Whose bestiall appetite desirde a bull.
 Mirrha, thou shouldst not scape, *that didst desire*,
 To make thy father to thy childe a sire. 2596
 But since I cannot, as I would, be fitted,
 Let me detect what I have knowne committed.
 It was my fortune, with some others moe,
 On[e] summers day a progresse for to goe 2600

¹ Final e by a later hand. ² /I† in margin.

- Into the countrie, as the time of year
Required, to make merrie w[i]th good cheer.
Imagine Islington to be the place,
The journey to eat cream. Vnder the face 2604
Of these lewd meetings, on set purpose fitted,
Much villanie is howerly committed.
But to proceed ; some thought there would not be
Good mirth without faire wenches companie, 2608 To make good
And therfore had provided, a forehand,
Of wiues & maides a iust proportiond band
In number to *the* men of vs ; each on[e]
Might have his wench vnto himselfe alone. 2612 a wench was
I that, till afterwardes, not comprehended
Whereto this meeting chieflie was intended,
But thought indeed the only true intent
To spend the time in honest merriment,— 2616
Went 'mongst the thickest, & had intercourse
In many a mad & sensuall discourse.
- Among the women kinde a wife ther was.
Her name I could not learne, I therfore passe
It over ; but a fainèd one to frame,
Call her Veneria, that's the fittest name.
This wife, which with *the* maides did holde her walke.
I chane'd to overhear in her lewde talke, 2624 whom I will call
How she did them by argumentes perswade
To vse *the* pleasure of the common trade,
I will repeat, that you may iudge with me,
Women moste prone to filthy luxurie. 2628
- “ My friendes,” quoth she, “ first, all of you must knowe,
Good things more common doe *the* better grow ;
For 'tis an axiome in morality,
Which you must all believe for verity. 2632 who persuaded
If, then, community doe goodnessse adle
To actions that are good, who'd be so mad
To lose the vertue of this common good
When 't may be purchasde without losse of blood ! 2636

[leaf 30]

to go to Islington
to eat cream.

2604

To make good
company,2612 a wench was
provided for each.

2616

Among them
was a married
woman,

2620

2624

whom I will call
Veneria,

2628

2632

who persuaded
the maidens to
lust.

To do a friend
a pleasure is a
good deed,

or, as we call it,
"a good turn."

Secret lechery is
less sinful than
hypocrisy.

[leaf 30, back]

Her lewd dis-
course made my
ears glow,

but "I bit in my
tongue" for the
sake of peace,

and because I
wanted to see
the end,

We had music
and good cheer.

- For that 'tis good, I think you 'l not deny,
Or if you doe, then thus I doe replie :—
To doe our friend a pleasur's a good deed,
If it be done for love, & not for meed ; 2640
To doe an act *that* addes to our delight
Is it not good? what foole will once deny 't?
Besides, the name importes it to be good,
For we a good turne call it. With my blood, 2644
If all this be to weake, I will maintaine
Ther's none of all our sexe that would refraine
To vse the pleasure of this knowne delight,
If fear did not restraine their appetite. 2648
And this I holde, *that* secret letcherie
Is a lesse sinne then close hypocrisie.
A preacher tolde me that the action wrought
(Because more seldomme then the wandring thought)
Is not soe great a fault, soe we chuse time 2653
And place convenient to concile our crime ;
And that we will not want, nor lusty boyes
Able to give a wench her fill of joyes. 2656
Then to it, lasses, when you have desire,
'Tis dangerous to suppresse a flaming fire!"
To hear this lewdnesse both mine eares did glow,
But I bit in my tongue, lest there should grow 2660
Some discontentment 'mongst them by my speach,
Whiche happily might have procur'de a breach
Among vs; & indeed soe much the rather,
Because by circumstances I did gather 2664
Wherfore this meeting was, & did intend
to observe all vnto the very end.
By this time we th' appointed place attainde,
Where straight with wecomes we were entertaind. 2668
Musicke was sent for, & good clear preparede,
With which more like to Epicures we farde
Then Christianes; plenty of wine & creame
Did even vpon our table seeme to streame, 2672

- With other dainties. Not a fiddlers boy
But with the relicks of our feast did cloy
His hungry stomach. After this repast
(Which feast with many a baudy song was graed) 2676
Some fell to daunceing (& daunceing is a cause
That many vnto fornication drawes),
In which lascivious kinde of merriment,
Till the darke evening did approch, we spent 2680
The lightsome day. But now the time drew nigh
That was comprisd'e to act their villany ;
And therfore after candles were brought in
(For then the night grew on) we did beginne 2684
The fiddlers to discharge, who being gone,
There straight was held a consultation,
In which, when each man had his wench assignde,
The filthinesse of this lewde act to blinde 2688
With darkenesse, all the candles were put out,
Which favouring my intent, I left the rout,
And closely stole away, having defraide
A great part of the reckning ; which I paide 2692
Whilst they were all full busie in the darke,
Because they should not think I came to sharke
Only for vittailles. How the rest agreed,
Iudge you which doe this true narration read. 2696
But leaving this mad crew, I have to say
Somewhat of bawdes, cheife actoars in this play.
Gabrina, in her youth a pretty ducke,
Hath been, they say, as good as ever strucke. 2700
It was her fortune (long she could not tarry
'Cause she was faire) with a rich foole to marrie.
I call him foole, because he let her have
Her minde soe much, that he became her slave 2704
To his vndooing. She must keep her coach,
Consort with ladies ; each new set abroach
Fantastique fashion which she did affect,
His gold must flie for ; yet she did respect 2708
- After the feast
some fell to
dancing, which
lasted till dark.
- When the candles
were brought in
the fiddlers were
discharged.
- As soon as the
lights were put
out I escaped.
- [leaf 21]
She kept her
coach and con-
sorted with
ladies.

Others above him, vpon whom she spent
His wealth ; her lust his care could not prevent.

*Her pride and
sensuality
brought him to
beggary, and
broke his heart.*

Thus soone her pride & sensuality
Brought him vnto disgrace & beggery, 2712
Till griefe for her lewd life, his ruind state
Broke his weak heart, & made him yeild to fate.
Then was she glad her whores flag to advaunce,
And get her living by a Scottish daunce. 2716
Thus with her sister, such another piecee,
Many a gallant of his golde they fleece.

*In their age she
and her sister
hire out a crew
of whores.*

Now ceazd with age, & both of them turnd bawdes,
Olde hackny women, they hire out their jades, 2720
A crew of whores far worse then crocodiles,
Killing with fainèd teares & forgèd smiles.
Confusion with their fortunes ever dwell,
That keep the dores that ope to sinne & hell ! 2724

*These bawds up-
hold their state*

These bawdes which doe inhabite Troynovant,¹
And iet it vp & downe i' th' streetes, a flaunt
In the best fashion, thus vpholde their state,
As I haue heard a friend of mine relate, 2728
Who once in privat manner with another
Went purposly their fashions to discover.

*by keeping wives
as well as com-
mon whores.*

They doe retaine besides these common queanes,
Even mens wives which are of greatest meanes, 2732
That yearly pay them tribute for their lust,
Vpon whose seerecie they doe entrust
Their blotted reputation, for which pleasure
They lewdly doe consume their husbandes treasure. 2736

The custome of these bawdes is thus : if any
Repaire vnto them (as God knowes too many
Run to this sinck of sinne), at the first view
To shew their cheapest ware ; if they will glue 2740
Their slimy bodies to those common whores,
The bawdes proceed no farther, keep the dores,
The price paide, which repentaunce findes to dear,

*When a man
comes in, they
show the cheapest
wares first.*

¹ London. See Taylor, Works, fol. 491.

- And the act done, doe straight the men cashier. 2744
 But if some gallant, whose out side doth holde
 Great expectation that good store of golde
 Will from his bounty shower into their lappes,
 Come to demaund (for soe it often happens) 2748
 To see their choyest beauties, him they bring
 (After request [not]¹ to say any thing)
 Into a privat roome, which round about
 Is hung with pictures; all which goodly rout 2752
 Is fram'de of Venus fashion, femals all,
 Whom if I name whores, I noe whit miscall,
 For soe they are, whom these doe represent. [leaf 51, back]
 All citty dames, which vsually frequent 2756
 This cursed place, who, though they goe full brave,
 Are in their lust insatiat as the grave.
 That picture which doth best affect the eye
 Of this luxurious gallant, instantly 2760
 Is by some traine brought thether in true shape
 Of lively substance. Then good Bacchus grape
 Flowes in abundance; Ceres must be by,
 For without them ther is noe venerie. 2764
 Provocatives to stir vp appetite
 To brutish lust & sensuall delight,
 Must not be wanting; lobsters buttered thighs,
 Hartichoke, marrowbone,² potato pies, 2768
 Anchoves, lambes artificiallie drest stones,
 Fine gellies of decoctel sparrowes bones.
 Or if these faile, th' apothecaries trade
 Must furnish them with rarest marmalade,
 Candid eringoes, & rich marchpaine stuffe;
 Vpon which eates ther is consumde enough
 To give sufficient to a hundred men,
 Spent but on ordinarie fare. But then 2776
 These dainties must be washd downe well wth wine,

But if he looks
rich he is shown
into a private
room

[leaf 51, back]

The picture
which takes his
fancy is soon
replaced by its
“lively sub-
stance.”

Wines and
nutritious food
are provided in
abundance.

Lobsters, pies,
jellies, mar-
malade,

¹ Blank in MS.; something erased.

² Very much like Morrowbone in MS.

sack, eggs,
Muscadine,
Alicant,

and dainties
enough to crack
a man's purse-
strings.

Thus is our great
city made a
brothel.

The Magistrates
should rid it of
this cursed crew.

Remove the
cause, and the
effect will perish.

[leaf 32]

Lop off these
uleerd members
with the hand
of justice.

- With sacke & sugar, egges & muskadine,
With Allegant, the blood of Venerie,
That strengthens much the backes infirmitie. 2780
- Abundance of these dainties they 'l not lacke,
Although it make my gallantes purstrings cracke.
And yet sometimes these cittie dames will spend
As if their husbandes wealth could ne're have end. 2784
- Then after this libidinous collation
They doe proceed to act their owne damnation.
- Thus is the worthiest city of our land
Made a base brothel-house, by a lewde band 2788
- Of shamelesse strumpets, whose vncurbēd swing
Many poore soules vnto confusion bring.
You magistrates, which holde Astræas sword,
For countries cause joyne all with one accord 2792
- To clear the city of this cursed crew,
Least the whole land the noysomenesse doe rewe
Of their contagion. For the better health
Of the whole body of the commonwealth, 2796
- Cut of these rotten members, & beginne
First at the head of this notorious sinne.
For this is written one the Lidian stone,
“The effect doth perish when the cause is gone.” 2800
- These bawdes & panders which doe give receat
(Being indeed the meanes wherby they eat)
To whores & ruffians, whose damnd villanie
Doth purchase gold & sell iniquity ; 2804
- Were they expeld the cittie, ther would grow
More continence, for¹ them these heades doe flow ;
The springs of lust, these fountaines, being drawne dry
The lesser stremes would stint immediatly. 2808
- Lop of these vleerd members of our land,
These putrified members ; with the hand
Of justice chase hence this vngodly rout,—
Subtract the fewell & the fire goes out,— 2812

¹ ? from.

- | | |
|---|------|
| And let our land this damnèd devillish crew,
As excrementes, out of her bosome spewe ;
And then you manifestly shall perceave
The greater part their brutish lust will leave. | 2816 |
| For every man this olde saide saw beleeves,
“Were no receivers there would be no theeves.” | |
| Thus City scapes not, nor the Court is free
From obseeane actes of hatefull luxurie. | 2820 |
| Those men or women <i>that</i> doe make resorte,
In hope of gaine or hono ^r t, to <i>the</i> Court,
Doe live soe idely, & in such excesse,
That it must needs produce this wickednesse. | 2824 |
| Vitellius hath gotten a good place,
And might live well i' th' Court, had he <i>the</i> grace
To keep it to good endes, & vse it soe,
“But lightly come,” we say, “doth lightly goe.” | 2828 |
| It cost him nothing but a supple knee,
¹ And oyly mouth & much observancie,
But he doth vpon worse then nothing spend it,
Yet 'tis well spent, he saies, & hee 'l defend it. | 2832 |
| He keeps a whore i' th' city, what needs that ?
Ther's whores enough i' th' Court, which (as a cat
Waites to suprise a mouse) watch to espie | |
| ² Whom they can draw vnto their villanie,
Some for meer lust, others for greedinesse
Of gaine ; as, 'mongst all <i>your</i> court landresses
If but one honest woman can be found, | 2836 |
| I 'le give her leave to give me twenty pound. ³ | |
| But these are stale ; Vitellius must have one
That's a rare piece of <i>the</i> best fashion,
Although she make these three thinges fare <i>the</i> worse, | 2840 |
| His soule, his body, & his strouting purse. | |
| His purse, her gay apparel & fine fare
Have made allready very thin & bare ; | 2844 |

¹ / *Ion* in margin of MS.
² / *I* in margin of MS. ³ MS. 20¹.

¹ /Ion in margin of MS.

3 M.S. 20!

Bodily disease.

His bodie, her vnwholsome luxurie
 Hath brought to *the* disease of venery ; 2848
 And I much fear this their lewde fashion
 Will bring his soule vnto damnation.

[leaf 32, back]
 I need not talk
 of Silvius and
 City dames,

when higher
 personages are
 guilty.

Silvius doth shew *the* citty dames brave sights,
 And they for *that* doe pleasure him a nightes. 2852
 City & country are beholding to him,
 And glad with purse & body both to woe him.
 But what talke I of these, when brighter starres
 Darken their splendant beauty with *the* scarres 2856
 Of this insatiate sinne ? If honour fall
 Gentry must needes submit himselfe a thrall.
 But whether climst thou, my aspiring Muse ?
 It wilbe thought presumption & abuse 2860
 To taxe nobility ! Forbear, forbear !
 Thou art an orbe above thy native spheare,
 Something thou canst not in oblivion drowne ;—
 Why come oue then, & briefly set it downe. 2864

Forbear, m.
 Muse, to tax
 nobility !

One boasts that
 he has made
 fifty-one cuckoldes
 in the year :

but he who made
 so many,

is himselfe the
 fifty-second.

Madam's page
 knows all her
 arrangements,

I heard Brusano by his honour sweare
 He on[e] & fifty cuckoldes made last yeare.
 Pitty it was he did noe farther goe,
 Each weeke would have done well to struck a doe, 2868
 And given *the* keeper his due fee to seeke
 When as he came to th' two & fiftith weeke.

Whom shall we finde to make vp *the* iust number ?

To bring 't about it my conceit doth cumber. 2872

Why, what a foole am I to seek thus farre !

You did soe many cuckoldes make or marre ?

Well then, i' faith you may, for all your pelfe,
 Make vp the two & fiftieth your selfe ! 2876

Madame Emilia hath a proper squire

To vsher her vnto *the* filthy mire

Of soule-polluting lust, who knowes his cues

Wher he must leave her, where attendance vse ; 2880

And can while 's lady actes the horrid crime,
 With picking rushes trifle out *the* time ;

- And for a need, when she wantes fresh supplie,
Her sensuall desires satisfie. 2884 and can at times supply her wants himself.
- Base slave ! which standest centinell to lust,
Suffering thy soule, polluted with *the* rust
Of canckered sinne, by thy neglect to perish,
Whiche above all thinges thou shouldest love & cherish !
- Thou instrument of sinne & Sathan¹ rage ! 2889
- Incarnate devill ! panderizing page !
- Be sure (vnlesse repentance pardon gaine)
There doth a place in hell for thee remaine. 2892 But he may rest assured that there's a place reserved in helA for him,
- And for those lechers which will never linne
(Accounting lust but as a veniall sinne)
- To committ incest, whoredome, sodomie,
Defile *the* land with damnd adulterie, 2896 as well as for all who are guilty of incest, whoredom, sodomy, and adultery.
- Whiche strive not to suppresse their lewde desires,
But fewell ad to their lust-burning fires,
- By seeking wicked opportunities
To act their damnable iniquities, 2900 [leaf 33]
- Till they have ruind all their hope of blisse,
Devilles will hale them to helles darke abisse.

¹ MS. Sathange.

Sat[ira] 7.

[AGAINST THE PASSIONS OF THE MIND.]

ARGUMENTUM.

Reginam mentis rationem, serva rebellis
 Passio devincit, calce tyrrana premit,
 Dum gerit immodicos (victa ratione) trivmphos,
 Incautos homines, ad mala damna rapit.

- | | |
|--|---|
| God gave to man
a reasonable soul
that he might
govern all things.

Reason is the
queen of the soul,

but she is become
the slave of her
subject,

who boldly rebels
against her. | God gave to man a reasonable soule,
That he might govern vnder his controle
All other creatures in the world beside,
Yet man wantes reason how himselfe to guide. 2906

Reason, <i>the soules queen</i> , whose imperious sway
Should rule the microcosme of man, & stay
By her wise governing authority
Each insolent affections tyranny, 2910

Is through much, too much, sufferaunce become
Slave to her subiect, who vsurps her roome.

Ambitiously aspiring passion,
Ever delighting in rebellion, 2914

Collects her forces, meets her prince i' th' field,
Subdues her power in conflict, make[s] her yeild.

And now <i>the tyrannesse</i> beares all <i>the stroke</i> ,
Clogging her suffering neck with servile yoke, 2918

And proud insulting in her victorie,
Trivmphs o're mans base imbecillity. |
|--|---|

- Thus his owne servant, every base affection,
Keeps him in slavish t[h]raldome & subjection. 2922 Every base
affection keeps
man in thraldom.
- By love or hatred, by ioy, griefe, or feare,
Desire, boldenesse, anger, hope, dispaire,
Man is enthrald, & doth submitt his will
Their tyrannies & pleasures to fulfill. 2926
- The Amoretto, pearc'd with Cupides stroke,
Must straight submitt his neck vnto *the yoke*
Of peevish love. Either his mistrisse haire,
Or else her forehead is beyond compare ; 2930 If man falls in
love he must
submit to the
yoke of peevish
fancy,
- Her eyes are starres, & her cheeke roses be,
Her lips pure rubies, her teeth ivorie,
Her breath perfume, her voice sweet harmonie
Passing Threician Orpheus melody ; 2934
- The path between her brestes a whiter way
Then that celestiall via lactea ; and compare his
mistress to
- Her veines pure azure, or what colour's best,
Her skin sleek sattin or *the cygnettes brest* ; 2938 [leaf 33, back]
- A Venus in whom all good partes doe hitt,
More then a second Pallas in her witt ;
- In stately pace and dazelng maiestie,
Another Iuno ; in pure chastety 2942
- Spotlesse Diana. Thus is all her feature
Beyond *the fashion* of a humane creature.
- Then what "ay mees !" what crossing of his armes,
What sighs, what teares, what love-compelling charmes
He vseth, would enforce a sicke man smile ! 2947 Then to hear his
"Ah me's !" till
he gets dis-
enchanted!
- Yet all the paines he takes is to beguile
His sillie soule ; for having once enjoyed
The thing, for which he erst was soe anoyde, 2950
- The tide is turnd, the saint doth seem a devill,
And he repentes that soule-bewitching evill
- ¹ Which once his fancy as a good adorde ;—
His mistresse love, I mean, is now abhorde. 2954 Then his "saint"
seems a devil.
- Another minde by hate distempered is,
- ¹ /I in margin of MS. The mind of
another is over-
come by hate,

- Malicing whom in shew he seemes to kisse.
 This base affection causeth dismall strife,
 Despoileth honour, & destroyeth life. 2958
- which he hides
by dissimulation.*
- Yet in these dayes 'tis counted pollicie
 To vse dissimulation ; villanie
 Masqu'd¹ vnder friendships title (worst of hate)
 Makes a man liue secure & fortunate. 2962
- These Machiavillians are *the men alone*
 That thrive i' th' world, & gett promotion.
 Athenian Timon, in his hatfull moode,
 Was ne're soe bad as some of this damnde broode, 2966
- This brood of Caines, these dissemling knaves,
 These mankinde-haters, bloody minded slaves,
 Whiche all *the world* with horrid murders fill,
 Laughing one those whom they intend to kill. 2970
- Such as he are
worse than
Timon of Athens.*
- A third ther is, which gaining some vaine toy,
 Is overwhelmèd through excessive ioy.
 The husbandman, if that his crops proove well,
 Hath his heart fild with joy 'cause his barnes swell ;
 The marchant, if his gaines doe safe come in, 2975
- Is with ioy ready to leape out on 's skinne ;
 The vehemency of this passion 's such,
 Many have² died by joying overmuch. 2978
- A third sort have
their minds
overwhelmed
with joy.*
- Another, shuning comfort & relieve,
 Suffers himselfe to be surcharge with griefe,
 And soe this passion doth his reason blinde
 That it begettes a frenzie in his minde. 2982
- Some are over-
come with grief,*
- Another, if that fear doe him assaile,
 Doth suffer that affection to prevaile,
 And doth bring him [in]to such frantick fittes,
 As you would judge him to be out on 's wittes. 2986
- [leaf 34]*
- and some with
fear.*
- Each bush doth fright him, & each flying bird,
 Yea his owne shadowe maketh him afeard.

¹ *Masque* originally written ; altered into *Masqu'd*.

² This *have* seems to have been *o're*, but a line is drawn through the *o*.

- Desire in others sheweth forth his mighte,
Making them follow brutish appetite. 2990
- Desire of honour fires th' ambitious minde ;
Desire of wealth the covetous doth blinde ;
The lecher cannot lustfull thoughtes withstand :
Reason's controlde by passions that commaund. 2994
- Another, rash & indiscreetly bolde,
Hazardes himselfe in dangers manifolde,
Yet thinks himselfe (mislead by his temerity)
To vse true valour & dexterity ; 2998
- When folly his companion is assignde,
For " who soe bolde as bayard that is blynde ?
With rashnesse is conioynèd impudencie,
With which my Muse in noe case can dispence. 3002
- His talke is bawdry, he doth rather choose
His soule then a prophane conceite to loose.
- Mischief-procurer anger rules another,
That knowes not friend from foe ; stranger or brother,
All's one to him ; for in his bedlem fitt, 3007
- Which quite deprives him of his litle witt,
He cares not whom he strikes, or what vile wordes
That cutt like razors, or sharp edgèd swordes, 3010
- Flie from his hasty tongue. This passion swaies
And rules over too many now adayes,
For each vaine toy stirreth vp man to furie,
When he in patience greatest wrongs should burie. 3014
- Hope & affection is that doth least harme
Vnto the soule of man ; for it doth arme
With constaney in trouble to endure
The worst of evill *that* sad fates procure. 3018
- It makes *the* prisoner, bound in gives of steele,
In expectation of release, to feele
Noe torment in his bondage ; cures the sick
Of his diseases ; makes *the* halfe dead quicke. 3022
- Yet is this good conioynèd with some evill ;
To hope on God is good, but from *the* devill
- Honour fires
the ambitious.
- Rashness by some
is mistaken for
valour.
- Impudence is
often conjoined
with rashness.
- Anger rules some,
and deprives
them of their
wits.
- They care not
whom they
wound.
- Hope and affec-
tion do the least
harm.
- They console
the prisoner and
cure the sick.

Don't expect aid
from the devil.

To expect healp, as they doe which attend

3026

With expectation of a happy end

To some ill act, is diabolicall,

And not by Christians to be vsde at all.

But when I come to think vpon dispaire

(Whch to withstand the rediest meanes is praier) 3030

Despair drives
men to suide.

I muse to think it should soe much bewitch

The minde of man, making *the soule* (like pitch)

Commit such deeds of darkenesse, such damnd ill,

As with our owne handes our owne lives to spill. 3034

[leaf 34, back]

Farre be it from me all passion to exclude

Out of mans soule, my meaning's not so rude;

For 'tis an axiome not to be withstood,

"He *that* is void of passion's voide of good."¹ 3038

Love of *that* love deserving Diety,

Which doth produce effectes of charity,

And kindles in mans heart² devotion,

3042

Once to extenuate were a sinfull motion

Of a pestiferous braine; noe, I desire

To ad more fewell to that holy fire.

Nor can I but commend of godlie hate,

Detesting sinne, *that* doth commaculate

3046

The soule of man; this passion's worth commanding,

That hates the offence, yet loves *the* man offending.

Neither will I restraine *the* heart from joy

Love to God
kindles devotion.

Soe that with moderation we employ

3050

This passion to good vses; *hartere* rejoice,

But let *the* cause be singuler & choicee.

Grief likewise must abounde in every man

That will indeed be a true Christian,

3054

Sorrow *the* badge of true repentance weares,

Sinne must be purgde by a whole flood of teares.

³ To filial feare I likewise doe assent,

Godly hate is
commendable.

Joy in moder-
ation is good,

so are godly
sorrow and
filial feare.

¹ *blood* was first written, then a line drawn through it, and *good* written after.

² MS. heard.

³ / *I and* written in margin of MS.

- That's awd from sinne by love, not punishment. 3058
- Salvations hope, celestiall ioyes desire,
Vertuous boldenesse, with religious ire,
Are heavenly passions not to be denide,
But as occasion serves, to be applide
To their true endes. Affectiones of such kinde
Mie Muse disclaimes not ; but all such as blinde
The eyes of reason, & doe quite pervert
The soule, mans better intellectuall part,
That keep him from *the* path of his salvation,
And lead *the* way which brings vnto damnation,
These, these they be, on which I doe engage
My vexèd Muse to wreck her spleenfull rage. 3062
- Philautus with his very soule doth love
A wench as faire as Venus milke white dove ;
He loves his hunting-horse, his hauke, his hound,
His meat & drink, his morning sleeps profound ; 3074
He loves to follow each new-fangled fashion,
He loves to hear men speake his commendation,
He loves his landes, *that* bring him store of pelfe,
But above all thinges he doth love himselfe. 3078
- In all this love noe love of God I finde,
Noe love of goodnesse, but a love confinde
To sensuall delights, to sinne & ease,
A love to others soe himselfe to please. 3082
- Thou impious worldling, leave this vaine affection,
Which only on thy selfe hath a reflection ;
This sinne relinquish, lest incensèd Iove
Doe iustly plague thy misapplyèd love. 3086
- I saw (a sight *that* made me much affraide)
Amorphus kisse his mothers kitchin-maide.
Me thought as both their heades together came,
I saw *the* devill kissing of his dam :¹ 3090
And yet this foole 's in love with her 'bove measure,
Calls her *the* mistresse of his² ioy & pleasure ;

Virtuous boldness
and religious ire,my Muse dis-
claims not ;
but all such
affections as lead
man to sin.Philautus loves
many things,

[leaf 35]

This is love
misapplied.Amorphous is in
love with his
mother's kitel en-
maide.¹ Final e crossed out.² MS. *her.*

Sweares *that faire roses grow vpon her cheekeſ,*
 When I'le be sworne 'tis fitter place for leekes ; 3094
 Saies her sweet breath his amarous fires increase,
 When she smelleſ filthy ſtrong of durt & greaſe.
 "But like to like, *the collier & the devill,*"
 He & his wench ; ſhe ſtammeſ, he doth drivell ; 3098
 He ſquintſ, & ſhe doth gogle wondrouſ faire ;
 His botle-nouſe is red, ſoe is her haire ;
 She hath a crooked backe, he a polte foote ;
 His face is blacke, & hers begrimde with ſoote ; 3102
 A loving lovely couple moſt diuine,
 Pitty it were *that they ſhould not combine.*

It is a caſe of
like to like ;
the collier and
the devil.

Pamphila is in
love with every
man ſhe ſees.

Pamphila is in love with every man
 That comes within her ſight, & if ſhe can 3106
 Will proſtitute her body to his will,
 And never leave till ſhe her luſt fullfill.

Stepmother Phœdra woos her husbandes ſonne,
 Hypolitus, but he with care doth ſhunne 3110
 Her odious luſt, loathing a ſinne ſoe vile
 As his ſires bed with iinceſt to defile ;
 But ſtill ſhe ſues, & ſtill he doth denie,
 Till vrgde to farre, he doth her preſenee flie. 3114
 Luſt thus by verteouſe chasteſtie withſtood
 Is turnd to hate, & hate thirſts after blood ;
 And his hartes blood it is this thirſt muſt eafe ;
 Only his death can her fell hate appeaſe. 3118

Phœdra's love to
her ſtepmouſon is
turned to hate.

True Machiauilian Cæcilius
 With hate doth proſecute Honorius,
 Because his vertues did deſerve more love,
 And he i' th' Court reſpected was above 3122
 His high aſpiring ſelfe. Yet till the end
 In outward ſhew he ſeemde to be his friend.
 But when *that Fortune had once turnd her wheele*
 He was *the firſt that did his furie feele ;* 3126
 For then his rage burſt forth, & it is thought
 This one mans hate his ſad deſtruclion wrought.

Honorius is per-
secuted because
of his vertues.

- | | | |
|---|------|--|
| Misotochus (which his hand will sooner lend
To bring his neighbour to vntimely end
Then save his life) hath horded vp his corne,
Ready to burst his garners with the horne
Of his abundance, & doth hope his seed
Kept from the market will a famine breed ; | 3130 | A man who
would rather
help to kill than
save life,
[leaf 35, back]
keeps his corn
till there's a
famine. |
| And therfore will not sell a graine this year,
Nor to sustaine his householde thresh an eare ;
But lives one rootes like a Diogenes,
With poor thin drink, & course bread mad[e] of pease.
What though the poore doe want, begge, starve, & dye,
They get from him noe healp in miserie. | 3134 | Though the poor
die of want they
get no help from
him. |
| Their hunger feeds him fat, he ioyes to see
Their death-proeuring sad calamity.
Thou hateful cynick-dog, belov'd of none,
Because none loving, not thy selfe alone !
Inhuman devill ! think some fatall hower
Will bring huge troupes of vermine, to devoure | 3142 | |
| Thy graine & thee ; or that from heaven will fall
Consuming fyer & destroy it all. | 3146 | But troops of
vermin devour
him and his
corn. |
| Looke for some fearfull vengeance to be sent,
Some plague vnheard of, some straunge punnishment ;
For such damnd hatred, iust revenging God | 3151 | |
| Will scourge thy sinne with some vnuusuall rodde. | | |
| Nænius hath with much officious labour
Recoveredèd his mistresses lost favour,
For the which act the foole's soe overioyde
That through excessse therof he is annoide. | 3154 | One fool was so
overjoyed at his
mistress's
favours, |
| When she vouchsafte that he might kiss her hand,
The asse had much adoe on 's feet to stand, | 3158 | |
| He was soe inly ravisht with delight
Of that rare pleasure : such another fight
Twixt reason & his passion would have sent
A foolish soule to Plutoes regiment. | 3162 | that another fit
like it would
have killed him. |
| When Carthaginian Hanniball, that stout
And politicke captaine, which soe often fought | | |

- With Roman Consuls in their native soile,
And their best forces many times did foile, 3166
It is recorded by cronologers
And excellent histriographers,
In *that vnluckie Cannas overthrowe,*
When few or none escape deaths fattall blowe, 3170
A certaine woman dwelling then at Rome
Heard her two sonnes had their eternall doome ;
For which (as nature would) she did lament,
Her eyes (bare witnesse) all with teares besprent. 3174
But they escaped,
and she was so
overcome when
she saw them,
that she died.
But *the young men seaping by flight their foe*
Recover Rome & to their mother goe ;
She hearing both alive returnēd were
And bid her former sorrow to forbear, 3178
Will not beleeve reporte, but trust her eyes,
When sodainly opprest with ioy she dies.
Mopsa, they say, o'reecombe with joy lies dead,
But how ? i' th' act of her lost mayden head ! 3182
A fearfull end, to die in act of sinne,
And in this death a second death beginne,
A dayly living death, yet dying paine
Which shall in perpetuity remaine. 3186
Luctantia, cease thy lamentation !
Thou mone'st thy puppies death with greater passion
Then *the offences that thou dost committe*
'Gainst thy Creatour ; which iust ne're a whit 3190
Grieve thy seard conscience ; noe remorse for sinne
On[e] tear enforceth, but for every pinne,
For every trifle else, that doth distast
Thy foolish liking, thou dost even wast 3194
Thy selfe in sorrow. Wash thy blubbered eyes,
And cry no more for shame ! If thou be wise
See that hence forth thou keep thy fludgates dry,
And weep for nothing but iniquity. 3198
Mutius, why art thou thus opprest with griefe ?
Take comfort man, & thou shalt finde reliefe ;

A Roman matron
Heard that her
two sons were
killed in the
battle of Cannas.

But they escaped,
and she was so
overcome when
she saw them,
that she died.

[leaf 36]

One dies in the
act of sin.

Another mourns
her puppy's
death.

She should weep
for iniquity.

Be not dejected, bear a constant minde :

What though the tempest of an [a]lverse winde 3202 If adversity come
Hath blowne thy fortunes downe, ruind thy state ? do not be cast
down.

Wilt thou for this accuse *the* god of fate,

And yeild to sorrow ? Doe not soe ; beware,

'Twas mercy in him then thy life to spare. 3206

When he destroide thy goods, had 't been his pleasure

He might have ruinde thee & them together.

But now thy substaunce & thy wealth is lost,

Thou art vndone, & all thy hopes are crost ; 3210

Ther is noe meanes to rise : who once doth fall

Is still kept downe, & cannot climbe at all.

Fear not, Antæus more couragious grew,

And by his fall did still his strength renew. 3214

Be thou like him ; may be this misery

Was pre-ordainde for thy felicity.

Grieve not at all, ther's blessing still in store,

And he *that* tooke thy goodes can give thee more. 3218

Ther's three ill feares (to one good filiall)

There are three
ill fears :

A worldly, servile, & a naturall :

A worldly feare is when some worldly gaine

Makes vs doe evill, or from good abstaine ; 3222

When for our proffit, pleasure, & our ease,

We doe not good, but men fear to displease.

There is a worldly fear, a fear to lacke

Things necessary for *the* maw or backe,

Which hath in nature greater confidence,

Then in Gods all-foreseeing providence.

3226

A worldly fear,
or fear for want
of things
necessary.

Naturall fear is a distraction

[leaf 36, back]

Of mind & senses, by th' iniection

3220

Of some moste eminent danger ; & this passion

Is great where faith doth want his operation.

A servile fear's a fear of punishment

A servile fear, or
a fear of punish-
ment for ill
deeds.

Vnto *the* reprobate coincident,

3234

Whom oftentimes vnto good actes doth drawe,

Not fear of God, but fear of humane lawe.

- 3238
- Letia doth fear to play *the* whore with any,
And yet she loves the sport as well as many
That act the sinne ; what hindres her intent?¹
O she's afraide of shame & punnishment.
- 3242
- A man would
steal, but he
fears punishment.
Irus is poore, yet feares to play *the* theefe,
And yet his fingers itch to get reliefe,
"But the burnt childe (we say) doth dread *the* fire ;"—
Hee's burnt i' th' hand, the next is halters hire.
Romanus keeps his monthly residence
- 3246
- The Church
dignitary would
neglect his duty,
only he fears the
consequences.
At church, although against his conscience ;
He would refraine (because he doth abhor it)
But *that* he feares to be presented for it.
Bellina, lost in a tempestuous sea,
Fears drowning much, & fear doth make her pray. 3250
And yet her prayers, which doe seeme profounde,
Are but lip-labour & a hollow sound ;
For set a shore, vnlesse apparent evill
Affright her much, she fears nor God nor devill. 3254
- 3258
- Phorbus, what makes thee looke soe like a ghoast ?
Thy face is pale, thy sences are quite lost,
Thy haire vpon thy head doth stand vpright
As if thou hadst been haunted with a spright. 3258
Why soe thou hast, thou thinkst ; what, hast thou soe ?
How scapdst thou from him ? would he let thee goe ?
Sure 'twas a very honest devill, friend,
- 3262
- which he thought
was the devil.
Wer he hobgoblin, fairie, elve, or fiend.
Thou fearfull idiot ! looke, it was a catt,
That frights thee thus, I sawe her wher she satt ;
But thou with conscience guilty of much evill
Dost deeme *the* cat to be a very devill. 3266
- 3270
- Caligula creeps
under the bed,
but it is a poor
shelter.
Caligula, creepst vnderneath thy bed ?
That's a poore shelter to defend thy head
'Gainst Ioves feard thunderbolte ; huge Atlas hill
Cannot preserve thee, when he meanes to kill. 3270

One wishes for
an estate

Votarius wisheth for a great estate,

¹ MS. intentent.

And saith *the poore* should then participate
Of all his blessings ; yet doth nothing give
Although he be exceeding well to live, 3274

And might healp others, till his substaunce grew ;
But *the olde proverbe* is exceeding true,
“ That these great wishers, & these common woudlers,
Are never (for *the moste part*) good householders.” 3278

Timophila her part of heaven would sell
To be a ladie, she so much doth swell
With this ambitious longing, to be cald
Madam at every word ; to be enstalde 3282

In such a chaire of state, were heaven it selfe.
Ambitious woman, high aspiring elfe !
All thy desires are wicked, thou vnblest,
Vnlesse Godes Spirit, working in thy brest, 3286

Change thy desire from vaine & earthly toies
To covet truely after heavenly ioyes.

Chremes is troubled with *the greedy minde*
Of golde-desiring Midas ; he doth finde
Noe comfort but in gaping after gaine.
Would to his wish awarded were *the paine*
That Midas felt ; who, thirsting after golde,
Wishd *that* what e're he touchd might change *the mould* 3294

Into *that* purer mettall. Phebus graunt
Confirmd *the misers* wish, but soone did daunt
The wretches minde ; for all *the foode* he tooke
To comfort nature, cleane his forme forsooke 3298

And turnd to golde. The asse had surely starvde
Had not Apolloes power his life preservde
By taking of his wish. May the intent
Of Chremes meet with *the like* punishment ;
Or, since *that* Midas greedy minde he beares,
May he with Midas wear *the asses eares.*

Dame Polupragma, gossip Title-tatle,
Suffers her tongue, let loose at randome, prattle 3306

[leaf 37]
that he might
assist others.

Another would
sell heaven to be
a lady and be
called Madam.

3282

3286

3290

Midas wished all
things turned
into gold.

3294

3298

and had starved
had not Apollo
taken off his
wish.

3302

Dame Title-
tatle

goes to public
feasts,

and talks
polities and
divinity.

Temerus, wishing
to advance
himself,

[leaf 37, back]
undertook to kill
the general of
the foes' army.

Brought to the
rack he confesses
all

Some men sin
and boast of it.

They think
money can buy
them off,

- Of all occurrentes; comes to publike feastes
Without invitement, 'mongst *the* worthiest guestes
Takes vp her roome at table, where, more bolde
Then truely welcome, she discourse will holde 3310
- Of state affaires, talke of divinity
As moves *the* hearers to deride her folly, }
But grieves me to *the* heart, that thinges soe holy,
Things which in greatest estimation stand, 3314
Should by her foolish lips be soe prophande.
But Betterice let me thee this lesson teach,
To leave those thinges *that* are above thy reach.
- Temerus, which i' th' warre had borne a launce, 3318
Vpon some great exploite would needes advaunce
His high attempting minde, & doe some act,
To make *the* world applaud his worthy fact.
- Then (ne're regarding what might him befall) 3322
He takes in hand to kill *the* generall
Of the foes armie; but his vaine intent
Met with as ill successe; care did prevent
His desperate boldenesse, ere he could come nigh 3326
His wished end; for, taken for a spie,
And brought to th' racke, torture did him compell
The truth of his straunge stratagem to tell;
For which *the* wretch in horrid torment lies, 3330
Being iustly plagu'de for his rash enterprise.
- Anaidus, art soe clean devoide of grace?
Hast thou soe impudent a brasen face,
Not only to act sinne with greedinesse, 3334
But to make boast of thy damnable wickednesse?
Was 't not enough with wordes to have beguild
Thy mothers maide & gotten her with childe,
But *that* thou must most shamefully beginne
To make a iest of this thy hellish sinne
'Mongst thy companions? Thou perhaps dost think,
Beeause thy law-perverting cursèd chink
Hath freed thee from *the* standing in a sheet 3342

(A punnishment for thy offence moste meet)

That there remaines noe more ? Yes, ymp of hell,

There is a Judge which in the heavens doth dwell,

but an uncor-
rupted Judge

3346 dwells in heaven.

An vncorrupted Judge, *that* will award

Damnation for thy sinne, vnesse regard

Of *that* vnhappy state wherin thou art,

Softning (I fear) thy vnelenting heart,

Shew thee thy soules deformity, & in 3350

Repentaunce fountaine make thee purge thy sinne.

Looke vpon Adrus in his furious ire !

The limbs of
Adrus shake
with anger.

He seemes to burne like some red cole of fire ;

How his eyes flame ! how his limbs shake with rage !

How his voicie thunders, as he ment to wage 3355

Warre against heaven ! Surely the cause is great

That makes him in this sort himselfe forget ;

It cannot but be matter of much eonsequence, 3358 What moves him
so ?

That moves *the man* to this impatience ?

Faith no, you are deceivde ; *the* cause was smale,

A better man then he would put vp all,

Were the disgrace more hainous, which is none 3362

But *that* his cholericke humour makes it one.

This asse (whieh for *the* wagging of a straw

He'll draw his
dagger upon
any man :—

His dagger vpon any man will drawe)

Walking i' th' street, was iusted from *the* wall 3366

why ? Somebody
pushed him into
the gutter !

Downe almost to *the* channell ; this is all

That puttes him in this fume ! Would you surmize,

[leaf 38]

A man that hath the vse of reasons eyes

To guide himselfe, should for a cause soe light, 3370

Soe smale a matter, be in such a pligt ?

Ready to frett himselfe to death, to sweare,

To curse, & banne, as if [he] meant to teare

The earth in sunder, only for this end,

Because he knowes not vpon whom to bende

The furie of his rage ! Thou irefull foole !

Vse henceforth to frequent *the* learned schoole

Of sacred vertue, which will thee inspire

3374 And all this fury
because he
knows not on
whom to bende
his fury !

3378

With patience to moderat thine ire.

Good Mistress Orgia, holde your hasty handes !

Because your maides have not pind in your bandes

According to your minde, must the stick flie 3382

About their shoulders straight ? Should they replie

In your owne language to you, you were servde

According as your rage had well deservde.

But this is nothing with this furious dame, 3386

Ther's other matters *that* deserve more blame.

She will not stick to breake her husbandes head,

Revile¹ him to his face & wish him dead

In most reproachfull manner ; he, good man, 3390

Dares not replie a worde, but gettes him gone

Till her fit's past, & doth with patience

Endure his wives outragious insolence.

Thou furious vixen, learne to rule thy passion, 3394

And vse thy husband in a better fashion,

Or I will have thy name to be enrolde

For a moste shamelesse & notorious scolde !

Manlius hath a very mean estate, 3398

Yet lives in longing hope of better fate ;

He hath an vnkle above measure rich,

And cares not much if he lay dead i' th' ditch ;

Hopes he cannot last long because hee's olde ; 3402

And then he hopes to seaze vpon his golde.

Foole, how dost know *that* thou shalt him outlive ?

'Twere better for thee, did he something give

Now while thy wanttes desire relieve ; "one thrush 3406

I' th' hand is worth more then are two i' th' bush ;"

And "he *that* hopes to put one dead mens shoos,

It often comes to passe he barefoote goes."

Elpinas, which with seas doth traffique holde, 3410

Hath made a ship out for West Indian golde,

And all his hopes doe in this venture lie :

You who lay the
stick about your
servants'
shoulders,

and break your
husband's head,

learn to rule
your passions.

Manlius lives in
hope of inheriting
his uncle's
lands.

A bird in the
hand is worth
two in the bush;
and he who
waits for dead
men's shoes may
go barefoot.

¹ *Reveale* originally. The stroke over the second *e* is continued till it looks more like *j*—*Rerjle*.

- Should she miscarry sure *the man* would die ;
 But hope, which holds him like a violent fever, 3414
 Flatters him still he shalbe made for ever
 At her returne ; & since she first began
 To cut *the billowes* of *the ocean*
 With her swift keel, his minde, more swift then she,
 Followes her in *the voyage*, & doth see 3419
 With eyes of selfe-delighting fantasie
 (Which sometime wrap him in an extasie)
 Her prosperous traffique. If *the day* be faire 3422
 He hopes *that homeward* she doth then repaire ;
 If stormes obscure *the brightness* of *the skie*,
 He hopes she doth in safest harbour lie.
 The time which slowlie seemes to passe away 3426 He daily tells
 Vnto his longing hopes, he day by day over the time for
 Telles o're in minutes ; not a puffe of winde her return in
 Blowes, but *that straight* his advantageous minde minutes.
 Carries it to his ship. Sometime his thought 3430 Sometimes he
 Runnes on *the gold* wherwith his ship is fraught, decides what to
 Imagining in his still working braine, do with the gold
 How to imploy it to his best of gaine.
 Thou greedy minded slave ! whose hopes are fixd 3434
 Only on wealth, with pleasure intermixt,
 And ne're hop'st after heaven, how canst thou think
 But *that iust* Iove should in *the ocean* sinke
 All thy fond hopes, & drive thee to dispaire, 3438 But his hopes
 Which ne're implorst his ayde by hearty praier ? may all be
 Returne at last, and fix thy hopes one him, confounded !
 Whose only power can make thee sink or swimme.
 Alston, whose life hath been accounted evill, 3442 Alston, in a fit of
 And therfore calde by many the blew devill,
 S[t]ruck with remorse of his ill gotten pelfe,
 Would in dispaire have made away himselfe,
 One while by drowning, when *that* would not be, 3446
 He drew his knife to worke his tragedie,
 Intending with *that* fatall instrument

[leaf 38, back]
 The merchant is
 all anxiety about
 his ship.

- To cut his owne throte. Fearfull punnishment
 Of a dispairing minde ! O, who can tell 3450
 The pangs *that* in a guilty conscience dwell ?
 Had not *the* gracious mercy of *the* Lord
 Restraint him from a sinne soe much abhord, 3453
 With his owne handes he would have stopt his breath
 And with his bodie sent his soule to death.
 Thrice happie mortall, which this grace didst finde,
 Soe *that* henceforth thou bear a better minde,
 And let thy actions to his glorie tende 3458
 That savde thy life from such a fearfull end.
 Returne thanksgiving, & desire in praier
 His grace to sheld thee from forlorne dispaire.
- Latro did act a damnèd villanie, 3462
 Adding blacke murder to his robbery,
 Yet 'cause 'twas closely done he might conceale it,
 For, save himselfe, none living could reveale it.
 But see *the* iust revenge for this offence ;— 3466
 After *the* deed, his guilty conscience
 Torturing his soule, enfore'd him still to think
 The act disclosde, & he in dangers brinke. 3469
 He thought *the* birds still in their language said it ;
 He thought *the* whistling of *the* winde bewraide it ;
 He eald to minde *that* murder was forbidden,
 And though a while, it could not long be hidden.
 Destract in minde, & fearfull in his place, 3474
 Having noe power to call to God for grace,
 The devill doth suborne him to dispaire,
 Tells him 'tis pitty he should breath this aire
 Which hath been such a villaine ; thrnsts him on 3478
 To worke his owne death & confusion.
 He, though he had *the* murderous hand to spill
 Another's blood, himselfe yet durst not kill,
 And was afraide of others. What e're stirres 3482
 He iudgeth to be men & officers
 Come to attache him, & his sight vnstable

but God's mercy
restrained him,

and saved him
from such an
end.

[leaf 39]
Latro added
murder to
robbery,

but conscience

and the devil

made a coward
of him,

- | | |
|--|--|
| Takes every bush to be a constable. ¹ | and he fears
every bush is a
constable; |
| Thus plagud & torturde with dispaire & feare,
Out must <i>the</i> fact, he can noe more forbear;
For which according to <i>the</i> course of lawe
Deaths heavy sentence one him he doth drawe;
And being brought vnto <i>the</i> place of death,
There in dispaire yeildes vp his latest breath. | 3486

till he yields
himself to
justice. |
| Thus each affection like a tyrant raignes
Over mans soule, which letteth loose <i>the</i> reines
Vnto selfe will, in which soe slavish state,
Mans sence captivd'e, his reason subiugate,
Makes <i>the</i> soule clogd, a massie lump of sinne,
Which following his creation should have been
Like his Creator pure;—soules were made free,
Not to be held in base captivitie
By every passion, but with reasons bitte
To checke affections from all things vnfitt.
He therfore <i>that</i> intends to live vpright
Let him in time curbe hedstrong appetite. | 3490

So every passion
reigns over
man's soul.

3494

3498

He that would
live upright
must curb his
appetites. |
| 3503 | |

¹ See 3 Hen. VI., v. 6.

[Certaine Poems.]

[PART II.]

{leaf 39, back}

Certaine Poems, comprising Things
Naturall, Morrall, & Theologicall,
written by R. C., Gent.

E dulci virus contractat aranea flore,
Quando ex vrtice mella leguntur ape.

Ad Lectorem.

I did not intend
to place these
Poems before
you,

had not my
friends per-
suaded me to do
so.

They were so
suddenly put to
press, that I

I had not thought (courteous reader) to have pretended thus conspicuously in thy sight this rude & indigested chaos of conceites (the abortive iss[u]e of my vnfertile braine) & to have set before thee this immature & vnpleasing fruit, collected only for my private recreation, & not for thy publique satisfaction & delight ; but the vehement importunity & instigation of certaine friends, with whom I did communicate my moste private studies, prevailing above mine owne determination, enforced me (otherwise vnwilling) to commit this piece of poetry alsoe to thy curteous acceptaunce & kinde censure. It was soe sodainlie thrust into the presse, that I had noe competencie of

time, with *the bear*, to lick over this whealp, & with a more diligent pervsall to correct any easily overslipped errour. Wherfore I desire thee, if thou finde any, to think it is rather a lapsus pennae then an error¹ mentis. As for *the crabbed & criticall interpretation* of many, *that* would seeme moste iudicious Catoes, & yet are indeed most censorious coxcombes, I waigh it little, and lesse *the detracting speeches of barking Momists*; & yet let them both know *that* it is easier to reprove then reforme, & a good word is as soone spoken as a bad. But least I seeme to begge their favours, or distrust mine owne fancies, I will leaue them as I found them, & returne to thee, gentle reader (because thou shalt be both *the protasis & catastrophe* of my epistle). If thou canst with *the bee sucke honie* out of this hemlock, I hope, when *the garden* of my wit shalbe throughly watered with *the spring* of Helicon, to present thee with flowers. In *the meantime*, thy present kinde acceptation of this wilbe a great animation to my subsequent endeavours.

Farwell.

¹ errour in MS.

As for judicious
Catos, I care
but little.

If you, gentle
reader, can suck
honey from this
hemlock,
I may at a
future time
present you
with flowers.

[Certaine Poems.]

Vera quid hominis forma.

- [leaf 40] What makes a perfect man? My Muse declare.
 External qualities do not make a perfect man. Externall qualities? Their force is much
 I doe confesse; but beastes excell vs farre
 In them; our stepdame Natures will is such,
 The lions strength mans force doth overquell;
 The hare in swiftnesse doth vs all excell. 3
- The brutes excel him in senses. In sences likewise brutes doe vs exceed;
 Hartes in quicke hearing, eagles in sharp sight;
 Spiders in touching; apes when as they feed,
 Have daintier palates to procure delight:
 Tender-nosd houndes, & vultures, senting prey,
 In smelling doe surpassee vs every waie. 9
- In his form, man excels all beasts. Neither doth mans essentiall forme consist
 In lineaments of body well contr[i]vde;
 Although heerin of force I must insist
 He doth excell all beastes *that ever livde*;
 Since beastes aspect is downward as they passe,
 And man *the heavens hath* for his looking-glasse. 15
- Wealth cannot make him perfect. What then? Doth wealth mans perfect forme compose?
 Noe, though thy wealth doe Crœsus wealth exceed;
 Though many miles thy land cannot enclose,
 Though all things to thine owne desire succeed:
 Yet this (if thou *the matter rightly scanne*)
 Is of noe force to make *the perfect man*. 21

There is a soule, not generate, but infusde,
Immortall therfore, which conjoynlyt knyt
With [the] corriptible bodie, & diffusde
By vertue through each member, as is fit,
Informes each part, & animates *the same*,
And this mans true essentiall forme doth frame. 30

But his immortal
soul does.

27

De quatuor anni partibus.

Apollo to his flaming carre adrest
Taking his dayly, never ceasing course,
His fiery head in Thetis watry brest,
Three hundred sixty & five times doth source :
As many times Aurora doth appear
Ere there be made a full & perfect year. 6

Apollo dips his
head into
Thetis' watery
breast 365 times.
3

This year equally doth it selfe distribute
Into 4 partes, which we doe quarters call,
Each having his peculiar attribute
Of name, & severall qualitie w'th all :
Spring ever plesaunt, Summer hot & dusty,
Fruit-ripening Autumne, Winter colde & frosty. 12

The year is
divided into
four parts :
9

Sweet smelling Spring, *that* ever chearfull season,
Clad with *the* verdure of fresh hearbes & flowers,
Renewes *the* year & makes it alwaiies geason
By distillation of his fruitfull showers :
This quarter doth (for soe it is assignde)
Refresh *the* sence & recreate *the* minde. 18

[leaf 10, back]
Spring, clothed
with herbs and
flowers;

15

No sooner doth *the* blazing bright beam'd starre,
Sol, enter Cancer *that* signe tropicall,
But Summer in his progresse doth declare
A hot ensuing season *that* must fall :

21 Summer, when
Ceres begins
harvest ;

Now Ceres, goddesse of all corne & tillage,
Begins her harvest in each country village. 24

Autumn, when
Bacchus treads
the vine.

Winter when
nipping cold
breeds disease.

When day & night are in equalitie, Autumne doth then beginne his course to take, Whom aires temperate serenity	27
A pleasaunt quarter evermore doth make : Now Bacchus treadeth ¹ downe <i>the fruitfull vine,</i> And doth compose the spirit quickning wine.	30
When longest night doth make <i>the shortest day,</i> Frostie-faede Winter Autumne doth succeede, In boysterous stormes his force he doth display,	33
Whose nipping colde doth ofte diseases breed : Yet man to please this quarter doth present Domesticke sportes & homebred merriment.	36

Planetarum energia.

Astronomers
have found
seven planets.

The morose and
melancholy are
born under
Saturn.

The honoured and
liberal under
Jupiter.

Astronomers, with their heaven searching eyes, Seven planets in their severall orbs have found, Whose influence, they say, descends the skies, And in our mortall bodies doe abound : Whose force is great, or else they greatlie lye That calculate mans fatall destinie.	3
Saturn is mounted in the highest sphear, Vnder which planet if man life receive, He shalbe subject to dispairefull feare, Dull melancholy to his minde shall cleave : His stupid braine, his frowning looke, shall bear A crabbed nature & a life austere.	6
Next vnto lumpish Saturn, sprightlie Iove Moves in his orbe. Who vnder his aspect Shall breathe this aire (which doth him mortall prove) He alwaies shalbe held in good respect : Pleasing his looke shalbe, comely his feature, Bounteous his minde, and ever kinde his nature.	9
	12
	18

¹ MS. treading.

After Iove, Mars assumes his proper seat,
Whom poets faine to be *the god of warre* ;
That man in battell shall his foes defeate
Which vnder Mars is borne, *that warlike starre* :
He will (for of his nature hath been tride)
Be quicklie angrie & soone pacifide.

[leaf II]

21

Soldiers under
Mars.

24

In midle of *the planettes* regiment,
Bright Sol, that heauenlie ever burning lamp,
Himselfe doth in his glorious orbe present.
Who vnder him receives his native stampe,
Shalbe well skild in artes, in conference wise,
Religious in heart, in life precise.

27 The skilful and
religious under
the Sun.

30

After bright Sol, the beauteous queen of love
Faire Citherean Venus takes her place :
Who vnder her aspect is borne, shall prove
Skilfull in love ; & with a blusshesse face
He shall vnto his lawlesse lust allure
Many that are of thoughts & life impure.

33 The skilful in
love under
Venus.

36

Next Venus, in his sphear is Maiaes sonne,
Ioves messenger, wing-footed Mercurie :
Who vnder his aspect his life begunne
Shalbe endude with craft & subtilty ;
He wilbe (soe his state thereby may mend)
Apt to deceive even his most trusty friend.

39 The deceitful
under Mercury.

42

Lowest of all *the planets* placèd is
Selfe-chaunging Luna : vnder whose aspect
If man be borne, he never shall have misse
Of an inconstant heart, which doth detect
A perverse nature, & a peevish minde :
Vnder this starre are borne most women kinde.

45 Women under
the Moon.

48

Every man hath his constellation
Vnder one of these planets influence

Every man has
his star.

Stars rule man.	Predominating, & <i>the calculation</i> Of [f] his ensuing fortunes comes from hence, Be he to labour borne, to art, or warres : Thus starres rule man, & God doth rule <i>the starres.</i>	51
-----------------	--	----

De quatuor elementis.

Earthly bodies are composed of the four elements.	Each sublunarie bodie is composde Of <i>the fower elementes</i> , which are proposde By Nature to <i>that</i> end, a worke t' admire That aire should meet with earth, water with fire, 4 And in one bodie friendlie sympathize, Being soe manifestlie contraries. These elements apparent to <i>the eye</i> Are mixt, & not of simple puritie ; 8	
[leaf 41, back] There are simple elements,	Pure simple ones ther are, but wher they be Passes <i>the skill</i> of our philosophie. Wheither earths purer elementall part Reside within Thessalian Tempes heart ; 12 Wheither Arabia Fœlix it containes, Or Edens garden, or th' Elizian plaines ; Olympus hill, or mountaine Appenine, Our Albion heer, or fertill Palestine, 16 I rashly in opinion dare not enter. Who shall finde out earth[s] yet vnheard of center ?	
but where ean they be found?	Where purest water is, declare who ean, Whether in midst of <i>the vast ocean</i> , 20 Or where rich Tagus workes vp golden sand ; Whether in some clear rivolet on land, As in <i>the spring</i> vpon Parnassus hill, Where the nine Muses dip their learned quill ; 24 In silver Ganges, or that fountaine rather Where faire Diana with her nymphs doth bath her ?	
Where purest water?	Art thou perhaps <i>that</i> purest breathing aire, Sweet Zephyrus, which wontst to make repaire 28	
In Tagus or in Ganges?		
Where purest air?		

To amarous Psyche, when for Cupids love,
 She fearlesse lept downe from the rocke above.
 If thou be *that* pure aire without all doubte,
 Shew me thy dwelling, & I'le seeke thee out,
 And having found thee, then my next desire
 Shalbe for purest elementall fire ;
 Be it within the moones concavity
 Or above all the heavens convexity,
 Doe it within *that* fornace closely lurke,
 Where Vulcan & his Cyclopes doe worke,
 Or be it *that* celestiall fire above
 Which wise Prometheus stole away from Love.

But I leave these pure elements alone,
 To speake of these amongst vs better knowne.
 This quadruplicity, these elements,
 From whom each body takes his existence,
 Have qualities calde elementarie,

Knowne by the names of first & secundarie.
 Earth is *the* driest in his first degree,
 Then coldnesse is his second quality.
 Coldest is water in first quality,
 Then moysture is his second propertie.

Moistenesse in aire houldes principality,
 And heat is secundarie quality.
 Fire doth predominate in caliditie.
 And then *the* next degree is siccity.

Fire hot & dry, aire moyst & hot we call,
 Seas colde & moist, earth dry & colde with all.
 These elements, although they doe agree
 In *the* composure of mortalitie,
 Yet in each body one it selfe doth vaunt,
 And is above *the* rest predominant.

In man complexions plainly doe dilate

What element is moste predominate.

In choleric bodies, fire doth govern moste ;
 In sanguine, aire doth chiefly rule *the* rost ;

32

Having found air,
 fire must next be
 sought.

36

40

Each body takes
 its existence from
 the elements.

44

48 And each has its
 particular
 quality,

52

[leaf 42]
 56 as hot and dry,
 dry and cold.

60

In choleric bodies
 is most fire;

64

in phlegmatic
most water.

In flegmatick, hath water greatest sway,
Dull melancholy seemes to be of clay.

It is recorded by some antiquaries,
Nor doe I see *that* it from truth much varies, 68
That each before recited element
Gives to a bruit his onlie nutriment.
I speake not this of those we purest call,
For they, I know, cannot sustaine at all. 72

The mole lives in
the earth, the
herring in the sea.

The earth vnto *the* mole her essence gives,
The herring only in *the* water lives ;

The chameleon
tives in air,
the salamander in
fire.

Aire only *the* camelion doth suffice,
And salamander from *the* fire dies. 76
To these 4 brutes, living in this estate,
Fowre kindes of men we may assimilate.
Like to *the* mole *the* worldly minded man
Workes in *the* earth, as if he headlong ran 80
Into her bowels ; for some paltry gaine,

Man searches the
earth for gold.

He digs, & delves, & toielts himselfe with paine.
His avaritious minde is wholy bent
Vpon *the* purchase of this element ; 84
Blind like *the* mole in 's intellectuall eye
That should direct him to felicity.

The second kinde from water doth alone
Produce his lifes best sustentation, 88

Pirates live by
sea-robbery ;

And such are they which vse damnd piracie,
And live vpon *the* sea by robberie,
These with *the* herring make *the* sea their friend
Till some of them at Wopping take their end. 92

ambitious men
on praise.

Ambitious men doe one *the* ayer feed ;
Like *the* camelion they are pleaseide indeed
With meer aeriall praise ; good wordes (I think)
Fattens them better then their meat & drinke. 96
Some of this kinde build castles in *the* aire,
Thinking themselves instald in honours chaire
In their selfe pleasing mindes, when such promotion
Is as farre from them as they from devotion. 100

But they think soe ; & he should doe them wrong

[leaf 42, back]

That puts them by this their conceit soe strong.

Lust is *the fire* that doth maintaine the life

Lust consumes
the life of the
venerious.

Of the venereous man (but sets at strife

104

The soule & body). Did I say maintaine ?

I should haue saide consume, for soe 'tis plaine.

Yet can he live noe more without desire,

Then can the salamandra without fire.

108

De quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus.

What may the reason be that we doe call

Are these virtues
called cardinal
because Cardinals
use them?

Our fower excellent vertues cardinall ?

Is it because Romes Cardinals moste vse them,

4

And other men doe more then they refuse them ?

No truely, for each severall vertue trie,

And you shall finde that they one few relie.

For wisedome first, what wisdome can ther be

8

In them, who, given superstitiouslie,

For the true God doe images adore,

And in necessity their healpe implore ?

Yet why should I their wisdome thus defie,

Whose crafty witt and damnèd pollcie

12 Their policy is to
enrich them-
selves.

Is to enrich themselves, though their soules have

Perdition, whom true wisdome seekes to save ?

For iustice next, doth iustice with them live

16

Who absolution to each sinne doe give

They do not
excel in justice,

For a corrupting bribe ? The sonne may kill

His aged parentes ; man the blood may spill

Of his deepe foe & 'scape ; for a large fee

Wrong shall take place, & right perverted be.

20

If these things we may iustice iustly call,

Iustice is vsde by every Cardinall.

But it may be in temperance they excell,

perhaps they do
in temperance,

And therin doe all only bear the bell.

24

if to be Epicures
is to be temper-
ate;

and chastity, if
the keeping of
concubines is
chastity.

[leaf 43]

They are proud
in power.

They tread down
virtue.

These virtues are
called cardinal
because they
embrace all the
rest.

If to be Epicures, and live at ease,
Swallowing vp pleasures when & how they please,
We doe account a temperat sober life,
Then these are they we graunt withouten strife. 28

Their chastety is soe immaculate
That they doe alwaies live in virgin state,
Marriage they nill admitt by any meanes,
Yet doe allowe of concubins & queanes. 32

Lastly to speake of manlie fortitude,
Therin their calling shews them to be rude ;

Full ill (we know, & every man may see)
A steely helme, & Cardinals cap agree ; 36
As for their fortitude of minde, 'tis small,

Proud in their height, dejected in their fall.

I, but their power 's great great ; in oppression,
Treding downe vertue, raising vp transgression. 40

These are their cardinall vertues of cheife fame,
Which we may trulie cardinall vices name.

But now at last a reason shew I shall,
Why we these vertues doe name cardinall : 44

Cardinall iustly may derived be
From cardo, which a hinge doth signifie ;

Soe these 4 vertues, all the rest enfolde,
Even as *the* hinges doe *the* dore vpholde. 48

Scilicet vt fulvum spectatur in ignibus
aurum,
Tempore sic duro est inspicienda fides.

A rich young
man to prove his
friends

A certaine man which great possessions had,
Had likewise store of friendes ; as who 's so mad
To think that friendship doth not wealth pursue,
Though for the moste part fainèd & vntrue ? 4
This man of wealth (though sell'd it soe be found
In a young man) in iudgement did abound,

And him bethought a way his friendes to trie,
How they would serve him in extremity.

8

He kills a calfe & ties him in a sacke,
Whom vp he takes & carries one his backe ;
And then straightwaires vnto his friendes he goes,
And in this manner doth his minde disclose.

killed a calf, and
put it into a sack.

12

“My friendes,” quoth he, “your loves I now must trie,
For friendes are truly provde in misery ;
Vnlesse your succours doe my life defend,
I am in danger of a shamefull end.

He told his
friends he had
killed a man,

16

Knowe, in my rage I have slaine a man this day,
And knowe not where his body to conveigh
And hide it from the searchers inquisition,
My house being subjeet to no mean suspition.

and wished them
to hide the body.

20

Healp me, good Sirs, in my distressed state,
Since thus to you my griefs I doe dilate.”

who at once
promised to help
him.

Having found a
friend, he told
him the trick.

A compact of
never-dying
friendship was
made between the
two.

I had a dream
about the choice
of a wife.

Three virgins
introduced
themselves to
my notice.

- The body then he takes, & meanes to hide ;
Vowes secrecie, what euer doe betide. 44
- "And if," quoth he, "you 'le on my faith relie,
I 'le keep you safe from the world searching eye,
Vntill this gust of danger be o're blowne,
Which threatens death, if that the fact be knowne."
- The man reioycing in his friends firme love, 49
Sayes how he did it but his faith to prove,
"And now," quoth he, "by giving of false fire,
I have found out the thing I doe desire, 52
A faithfull friend, vpon whose trust I may
My life, my landes, & all my substance lay."
- Then vp & tels him all the project plaine,
How the dead body was a calfe yslaine. 56
- The other, wondring at his pollicie,
Resolvèd straight a knot with him to tie
Of never-dying friendship to their end,
Thus each to other was a perfect friend. 60
- Mean while the other from him he removde,
Whose fainèd love sufficientlie was prov'de.

Somnium.

- About *the* dead time of *the* silent night,
Disquiet thought debarring sounder sleepe,
A dreame I had that did me much delight, 3
Wheroft my minde doth yet impression keepe,
Because it chiefly touchèd single life,
In good or bad election of a wife. 6

- Methought 3 virgins did appear vnto me,
In their attyer all full seemly clad,
Which saide they came on purpose for to wooe me, 9
To know to which I moste affection had :
"But first (said they) before this thing thou shew
Thou each of vs shalt severally knowe." 12

Then first gan say <i>the fairest of the three,</i> “I Beawty am ; if me thou list to take, Thy fancy shall receiue content in me, And I will never thy true love forsake :	15	[leaf 44] Beauty was poor and faithful
But I am poore, & have no meanes at all Reliefe to give, if want should thee befall.”	18	
The second then begann, “I Wealth am hight ; If me thou chuse thou never shalt have lacke ; Abundance thee to give is in my might, To fill thy belly, or to clothe thy backe :	21	Wealth promised plenty,
Only I am (as thou maist well beholde) Deformde, hard-favourd, crabbed, wringkled, olde.”		but she was ugly and deformed.
Then quoth the third & last, “ My name is Witt ; If me thou chuse to give thy minde content, I can discourse, with wordes moste apt & fitt, Of nature, heaven, & every element :	27	Wit was pleasing, but wanton.
But this be sure, a wanton I will prove, And not be tyed vnto on[e] only love.”	30	
“ And now,” quoth they, “ thine answeare we request, For we of purpose come the same to knowe ; Tell whether of vs thou canst fancy best.”—	33	
And heer me thought they left to speake ; when loe ! I framèd me an answear them to make, But fore'd my selfe, & thus I did awake.	36	I awoke before I made up my mind.

Brevis Allegoria.

Out from the depth ¹ of Griefes infernall cave Sad Melancholie rose with weeping eyes ; Company had she none, ne would she have, But ne're pleasd Discontent, with whom she hics	4	Melancholy and Discontent proceed from Grief.
With as swift feet as Griefe to her had lent, Vnto the surging billowes of Lament, To be washt ² o're into the desert Languishment.	7	

¹ MS. dept.² MS. waste.

Despair is their
Ferryman over
Lament.

The ferriman, or boatswaine of *the lake*,
Incredulous, all doubting, hight Dispaire,
Would none conduct *that* did not aye forsake
To draw *the breath* of *that* halfe killing ayre 11
Issuing from Hope, his still professèd foe,
Which makes men constant in abiding woe,
Expecting still at length their trouble to forgoe. 14

The boat was a
fearful hulk,

The boat wherin this Ferriman of hell
Dischargde his office, was a fearfull hulke
Framd' of a guilty conscience (worst of ill); 17
The sailes composle of sinne, whose monstrous bulke
Swelling with sighs, which were *the gales* of windē
Made *the barke* seeme to flie; a fearfull minde 20
Was the maine-mast, & doubt for anchor was assignde.

[leaf 4t, back]

in which
passengers are
carried

Thus rigd & trimd, it floteth vp & downe,
To ferry passengers vnto *the shore*
Of *that* inhospitable desert, where no towne,
Ne humane wight inhabited of yore; 25
Yet gins it now with people to abound,
Whch daylie passe o're to *that* hatefull ground,
Although they know it will at length them quite con-
found. 28

to the shores
of death.

For whie, within that desert lyes a cave,
Where horrid Murder, Death[s] sterne sire, doth dwell;
Him that Dispaire doth hither bring, this slave
Doth straight encounter, leads him to his cell, 32
Presenting him with cordes to stop his breath,
Poyson to kill him, or else doth vnsheath
Swordes, ponyards, knives, all instruments of cursèd
death. 35

Hope met
Melancholy on
her way and
cheered her up

As Melancholie posted to the shore,
To be conducted to this balefull place,
Hope met with her & never gave her o're,
Till she had staide her rash vnsteady pace. 39

And with wise wordes, diverting her intent
From seeking out *the* desert Languishment,
At last she brought her to *the* house of Merriment. 42

with wise words.

De Fortuna.

Well have the poetes fainde the queen of chance,
Dame Fortune, blinde, & fixd vpon a wheele,
The swiftnesse of whose motion may entrance
A dull spectatours eye ; at whose feet kneele
Great potentates, & kinges that sue for grace,
Whom as she list she spurns or doth embrace.

The poets
represent
Fortune
as blind and
fixed on a wheel.

3

6

Sometimes she rayseth to emperiall throne
An abject peasant & base cuntry swaine,
Who from *the* ycie to the torrid zone
Boundeth *the* frontiers of monarchall raigne :
Then downe she thrustes from their supernall seat
Princes & kings, & makes them begg their meat. 12

Sometimes she
raises a beggar to
the throne.

9

O could she see, she would not be soe mad
(As now she is) in honour to advaunce
(Vertue despisde, & art but meanlie clad)
Vnmatchèd vice, & worthlesse ignoraunce :
But blinde she is, & seeth no mans fall ;
Deafe, & can harken vnto no mans call. 18

Could she see she
would not
promote the
vicious.

15

18

Homo Arbor.

Like as a tree from forth *the* earth doth spring,
So from *the* earth doth man his essence take ;¹
The tree shoothes forth & doth faire blossoms bring, 3
So man, till youth his mansion doth forsake :
The tree growing crooked, if you 'l have it mended,
Whilst that it is a twigg it must be bended. 6

As a tree springs
from earth, so
man takes his
essence from it.

¹ Secundum corpus written at the end of this line in the MS.

[leaf 45]

"Just as the
twig is bent the
tree's inclined."

Right soe it fares with man, whose infant age
Is apt of any forme to take impression,
Following advice & reason or else rage, 9
According as his youths frame takes succession :
If green he be not bended, but let grow,
When he is olde hee 'l breake before hee 'l bowe. 12

In spring trees
put forth
leaves;

so man, and
both die for want
of nourishment.

When lusty Ver approacheth, he doth bring
Fresh vigour to the tree & liveries gay ;
Soe man doth reassume new health i' th' spring ; 15
The tree when moysture failes will fade away :
And man will quickly perish like a plant,
If he that *humidum radicale* want. 18

The tree falls at
last ; and as it
falls so it lies.

Looke how at length the tree to ground doth fall,
Though long it stand fast fixèd in the earth ;
Soe man, thoug[h] long he live, yet die he shall ; 21
No helpe there is in honour, wealth, or birth :
The tree what way it falls, that way doth lye ;
Even so shall man be iudgde as he doth die. 24

Mundus Theatrum.

The world is by
some compared to
a theatre, the
gods being
spectators, men
the players.

The world by some, & that not much amisse,
Vnto a Theater comparèd is,
Vpon which stage the goddes spectatours sitt,
And mortals act their partes as best doth fitt. 4
One acts a king, another a poore swaine ;
One idely lives, another taketh paine ;
One, like Orestes, becomes mad with rage,
Another seeks his furie to asswage. 8
And as i' th' play that man which acts the king,
(Though many he to his obeisaunce bring)
I' th' end is of no more account then he,
Which represents the beggers misery, 12

In the end he
who plays king
and he who acts

So is't i' th' world, when every man by death
Has his last exit, which doth stop his breath.
The king for all his crowne shall reape noe grace,
Nor beggers meannesse shall his cause embase.

the beggar are
alike

16

But to my thinking, in this saide compare,
Though many iump, yet some things differing are.
In our stage-plaies ther's but one foole at most
And sometimes none at all ; we cannot boast
So much, farre otherwise with vs it is ;
We act *the* same part all, not one doth misse.
They shew awhile in iest their foppery,
We still in seriousnesse *our* foolery.

In plays there's
only one fool, in
the world many.

20

24

Armat spina rosas.

Hard is it for *the* patient which is ill,
Fulsome or bitter potions to digest,
Yet must he swallow many a bitter pill,
E're he regaine his former health & rest :
To keep the body safe is mans desire,
Though it be done through water, sword, & fire.

Physic is bitter,
but man must
keep himself in
health.

3

[leaf 45, back]

6

The hardy soldier, with death-threatning sword,
To kill his hostile enemy procures,
In hope the conquest will rich spoiles afford,
He mortall strokes & bloody woundes endures :
Victorious tryumph ther doth never grow,
But by the adverse parties overthrowe.

The soldier
endures wounds,
hoping for
conquest.

9

12

The silly bee his hony doth defend,
And from his hive doth chase the drone away ;
Yea oftentimes with man it doth contend
And 'gainst him doth his threatning sting display :
Loth is it his mellifluous meat forgoe,
Which with such paine it gathers too & froe.

The bee protects
its honey with
its sting.

15

18

The rose is
fenced about
with thorns.

The lover under-
goes many
hardships.

Things valuable
are difficult of
attainment.

The odoriferous & fragrant rose,
Which in the spring tide shewes his blushing hiewe,
For fence it selfe with prickes doth round enclose, 21
Which make the gatherer oftentimes to rue,

 And wish, with his prickt fingers making mone,
 That he had let *the* verdant rose alone. 24

T[h]e amorous lover, ere he can enjoy
His wished end, doth many paines endure ;
Sometime his love disdainfull is & coy, 27
And will not stoop vnto his gentle lure ;
Sometime he feares she will vnconstant prove,
 And not reward him faithfull love for love. 30

Straight is *the* passage vertue to attaine,
And steep the hill that vnto honour leads ;
Art is not had without industrious paine, 33
Nor wealth possest by praying vpon beads :
Things of great prise are not atchiev'de with ease,
 But once attaind, they doe for ever please. 36

Comparatio mortis & Hyenæ.

The hyena has
the shape of
several beasts.

A monstrous beast ther is Hyena namde,
Whose shape of sundry formes composèd is ;
Like to a wolfe her visage is iframde, 3
A vipers swelling neck she hath, I wis ;
An elepha[n]ts huge backe, voice like a man,
 And Proteous-like, transforme her selfe she can. 6

Death is like it
in many respects.

Death like this monster is in each respect :
First like a wolfe that ravenous is of prey,
Whose very looke his rapine doth detect, 9
Ne spareth he ought commeth in his way ;
So death is cruell, suffering none escape ;
Olde, young, rich, poore, of all he makes his rape. 12

- Next as a viper swelleth on the ground,
And glideth to & fro to many a place,
Yet wher he was no print there can be found,
So nimble is he & so quick of pace ; 15
 Soe death is heer & yonder in one stound,
 And kills & sleas, yet no man sees him wound. 18
Death is subtle as
a viper :
- The elephant in strength to him doth yeild,
Though he 'mongst beastes the strongest be accounted,
And castles carries on his back in field,
Where fighting men, as on a tower mounted,
 Safegard themselves & doe their foes annoy ;
 But death whole townes & countries doth destroy. 24
strong like
the elephant ;
- A man he is in craft & pollicy,
Lurking full closely to devour his prey ;
So death is full of craft & subtily,
And vnawares doth many take away ;
 As with sweet sleep he closeth oft the sight,
 Yet shuttes the eyes in an eternall night. 30
27 crafty as man,
- Lastly as Proteus into sundry shapes
(When as him list himselfe transforme) could change,
Or male or female he could be perhaps
Nor male nor female ; soe doth death estrange
 Himselfe into each sexe when as him will,
 That is, both male & female he can kill. 36
and can trans-
form himself
like Proteus.

Vesper exornat diem.

- What proffits it the well built ship to ride
Vpon the surging billowes of the maine,
Drivne with a pleasant gale & a calme tide,
If, ere it iornies end it doth attaine,
 By boysterous stormes, which cannot be withstanded,
 Sea wrackt it perish in the raging floud ? 6
3 What gool is it
for a ship to
have a prosperous
voyage, if it is
wrecked in the
end ?
TIME'S w. 9

The old wife's
medicine cannot
cure grief.

The learned artistes much admired skill
In life-preserving phisicke is then tride,
When some strange cure is wrought ; not every pill 9
Or olde wifes medecine to the sick applide
Can griefe recure ; 'tis arts all knowing lore
Must man vnto his wonted health restore. 12

He who has
fought and
conquered may
claim the crown.

He that with trenchaunt blade in bloody fight,
Singlie opposde, & clad in equal armes,
Hath slaine his foe, or forced him vnto flight, 15
Vsing noe witch-craft, sorcery, nor charmes,
May worthely crowne his victorious brow
With oken leaves of Ioves tryumphant bow. 18

[Leaf 46, back]

The result
praises or
dispraises every
man's work.

Who truely can affirme the day will prove
Pleasant & faire, e're even doth appeare,
When sodeinly¹ o'recast, the heauens remove 21
Oft times their beauty which our sight doth clear ;
*Successe by the event is knowne, the end
Doth every action praise, or discommend.² 24

Virtus persequenda.

He who pursues
virtue in youth
shall be famous
in age.

He that in youth doth vertues path way tread,
When age vpon his wrinkled front shall sitt,
A crowne of honour shall enguirt his head, 3
And though he dye, his praise shall never flitt :
With her shrill trumpet never dying Fame,
Vnto the world shall still resound his name. 6

He that despises
virtue shall be
forgotten,

But he that vertue in his youth disdaines,
And like a lozell runneth out his race,

¹ I cannot tell whether this was intended to be *sodeinly* or *sodainly*. The MS looks more like *sodainly*.

² * Careat successibus opto
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.
Written in the margin of the MS, with the asterisk as above.
Ovid. Epp. 2. 86.

Shame & not honour in his age attaines,
And after death on earth shall have noe place :
Lethe shall drowne his ill deserving name,
But vertuous acts are still enrolde by Fame.

9
12

and drowned by
Lethe.

Cur Venus orta mari.

The poetes faine (for soe I know I read)
That Venus of the seas white foame was bred,
And therfore Aphrodite doe her call,
Which name doth signifie as much to all
That know the word ; but wherfore she should be
Derivèd from the froath of Neptunes sea
I know noe reason, since, as I doe gather,
Neptune her vncle was & not her father ;
Vnlesse that we, against true logicks lawes,
From the effect produce th' efficient cause ;
And that too by comparison must be
As thus :—we all know that the foaming sea
Is salt & bitter to our tasting sence ;
So lustfull Venus, which is saide from thence
To issue forth, proves salt & bitter still,
To them that follow her disordered will.

4
8
12
16

Venus, they say,
was born of the
sea-foam.

Perhaps so: we
all know how
bitter her
followers find
her.

Medio tutissimus ibis.

Climenes brat, aspiring Phaëton,
Dryving the fierie horses of the sunne
Out of the midle way, vp to the seat
Of Iupiter, & scorching with the heat
Of his bright flaming charriot all the goddes,
Was by incensèd Iove whipt downe with roddes
Of thundering lightning to the raging wave
O' the vast ocean, his vntimely grave.

When Phaeton
drove the chariot
of the Sun

4 Jupiter sent him
headlong into the
sea.

[leaf 47]

8

Icarus, soaring
too high, fell into
the sea.

Fond Icarus, proud of his waxen wings
Soaring to high, is drenchèd in the maine,
When Dædalus his plumèd bodie brings
Safe to the shore. Ambition is a traine
That life entraps ; a golden mean the way
To live securely ; for we often see
Men of most honor soonest doe decay,
When meaner men live in tranquillity.

12

If you would not
fall, don't climb.

Wilt thou be safe ? strive not to climbe at all ;
Low shrubs stand fast, when statelier okes doe fall.

16

Scribimus indocti doctique epigrammata passim.¹

Jonson, they say,
has turned
Epigrammatist.
I don't believe it.

Johnson they say 's turnd Epigrammatist,
Soe think not I, believe it they that list.
Peruse his booke, thou shalt not find a dram
Of witt befitting a true Epigram. 4
Perhaps some scraps of play-bookes thou maist see,
Collected heer & there confusedlie,
Which piece his broken stufte ; if thou but note,
Iust like soe many patches on a cote.

8

And yet his intret Cato sta[n]ds before,
Even at the portall of his pamphlets dore ;
As who should say, this booke is fit for none
But Catoes, learned men, to looke vpon : 12
Or else, let Cato censure if he will,
My booke deserves the best of iudgement still.²
When every gull may see his booke 's vntwitten,

12

The epigrams are
as bad as any
written.

And Epigrams as bad as e're were written. 16
Johnson, this worke thy other doth distaine,
And makes the world imagine that thy vein

¹ Scribimus indocti doctique poëmata passim.

Hor. Ep. ii. 1, 117.

² skill in MS.—? judgement[s] skill.

- Is not true bred but of some bastard race.
 Then write no more, or write w/ih better grace ; 20 He had better
 Turne thee to plaies, & therin write thy fill ;
 Leave Epigrams to artists of more skill. 22 to better men.
-

In Madamam quandam.

- A country lasse of silly parents bred,
 In London was for service entertainde,
 And being of a wealthy master sped 3
 She with her luring lookes so farre him trainde,
 That he embrac'd her in a marriage bed,
 But first she pawnd to him her maydenhead. 6
- What plottes she had, what tricks she then did vse,
 To bring her matter to soe good effect,
 I list not now repeat ; lest for the stewes 9 [leaf 47, back]
 New stratagems I plainlie doe detect :
 But such they were, that from a scullians life
 Made her a wealthy marcheantes second wife. 12
- Then gan she trip it proudlie one the toe,
 And mince it finely vpon London streetes.
 She lady-like in her attire did goe,
 Bought with the purchase of vnlawfull sheets ; 15
 At last, her of her husband death bereft,
 Who dying, her a wealthy widow left. 18
- Ambition now began to swell her minde,
 All her desire was to be ladifide ;
 And with a knight at len[g]th she was combinde,
 Which made her think herselfe halfe deifide : 21 Afterwards she
 But well she might, in Edens plot she lies,
 And all men know that place is paradise. 24
- Long liv'de she not in Edens fruitfull soile,
 For her aspiring minde straight drove her thence ;

But pride ruined her.	That serpent pride did her soe far beguile, Eden she banisht was for her offence :	27
	Judge, was not woman very much vnwise That thus by pride hath twice lost paradise ?	30

In Neandrem.¹

Neander, appointed to dispute before the king,	Neander, held a great cevillian (Let me not say a Machiavillian)	
could not say a word,	Appointed to dispute before the king, Struck mute with fear, could not say anything	4
so he lost the reward he expected.	Save 'twas ill luck ; for if he had done well, As we expected he would bear the bell	
	From the whole Academie for the test, 'Tis certaine he had been a knight a[t] lest,	8
	And made his wife (what she hath lookt for long) A Madame. Fortune, thou hast done her wrong	
	To hinder his once dubbing of his wife, Which hath dubde him soe often in her life.	12

In Asinium.

Asses have long ears.	Asinius what I speake straight overhears ; Will you know why ? Asses have longest eares.
--------------------------	---

[leaf 48]

In Balbutiam.²

Balbutia has induced a gentleman to leave his wife and family for her,	Balbutia, which hath all the tricks of art That doe belong vnto a whorish part, Wholly bewitchd a gentleman to leave His wife & children vnto her to cleave	4
--	--	---

¹ This and the next poem but one have been so thoroughly obliterated by means of a thick pen that at first I was tempted to omit them. I have been at some pains to read them, but I am by no means sure that my readings are absolutely correct.

² I cannot ascertain whether this was Bacbutia or Balbutia. I am more inclined to think the former.

Even to his end, &, though God did him blesse
 With a faire issue, clean to dispossesse
 His children of his goodes & give her all
 By his last dying testimoniall.
 But how dost thrive with her ? Exceeding well ;
 She is the likelyst still to goe to hell.
 But heer she doth not w/without crosses goe,
 Those in her children, sonnes & daughters too.
 Her eldest sonne is hangl or drownd i' th' seas,
 Her other is as good in forwardnesse.
 Her eldest daughter's married to her grieve,
 Whose husband lives a prisoner & a theefe.
 Her other daughters would fain married be,
 But moste that knowe doe hate this progenie.
 Thus she which made mothers fare *the worse*
 In her owne seed hath this deserved curse.

and give her his
property.

8

How does she
prosper ?

12

Her eldest son is
hanged or
drowned.16 Her eldest
daughter is
married to a
thief.

20

In adulantes Aulicos.

Base sycophantes, crumbe-catching parasites,
 Obsequious slaves, which bend at every nod ;
 Insatiate harpies, gormandizing kites,
 Epicures, at[h]eists, which adore no God
 But *your* owne bellies & *your* private gaine,
 Got by *your* oily tongues bewitching traine !

O how my Muse, armde with Rhamnusiae whip,
 Desires to scourge *your* hell¹-bred villanie,
 And with Astræas sharp edgl sword t' vnrip
 The hatefull eloke of *your* deformity ;
 Whose naked view soe odious would appear,
 That we should hate what now is held full deare. 12

Your sly deceits dissimulation hides,
Your false intent faire wordes obnubilate ;

Sycophants,

3 harpies, kites,
epicures,how my Muse
desires to scourge
you!

9

Your deceits hide
dissimulation,¹ *hell* in MS.

- as grass hides serpents. So 'mongst the greenest grasse the serpent glides, 15
 And freshest flowers foule toades coinquinate :
 All is not golde that hath a glistering hiew,
 But what the touchstone tries & findeth true. 18
- You cause dissensions between friends. Dissentions, & twixt friends vnfriendly jarres,
 Your base tale-carr[y]ing tongues doe sett abroch,
 Intestine broyles, cyyvill vncivill warres, 21
 Which end in death or infamous reproch,
 Are causd' by your insinuating wordes,
 Whose poysnous breath wounds deeper then keen
 swordes. 24
- [leaf 48, back] Leave the Court, avaunt, ye fauning cures, & leave *the Court* !
 and no longer flatter greatness. Flatter not greatnesse with your scurrill praise.
 Dare flies approach where eagles doe resort ? 27
 And shall the euckoe in [a] cove[r]t¹ chaunt his laies ?
 For ye, like euckoes, all one note doe sing,
 And like to flies doe buzz about our king. 30
- The king scorns the whole of you. But he, the princely Eagle, scornes such flies,
 Such butter-flies, such gnates, whose humming sound
 Relisheth not his care ; nor doe his eyes 33
 Affect your gaudy outside, which abound
 More in queint speach & gorgeous attire,
 Then in your loves, which ought to be entyre. 36
- Leave off your flattery. Ye Aristippian zanies, Albions ill,
 Leave off at last your poysning honnied speach ;
 Let not your sugred wordes be traines to kill, 39
 Iust like the foxe when he to geese doth preach :
 And ye rich men, which selfe-conceit doe love,
 Be not such geese, foxe-flattering praise to prove. 42
- And you rich men, remember Aesop's crow So Aesops crow whom crafty rainard spide
 With prey in bill, was earst by him deceivde ;

¹? For *Court*.

- "O thou faire bird" (a lowd lie !) then he eride, 45 which was deceived by the
 "Why singst thou not, whose musick hath bereavd
 The nightingale of that respect she held,
 Since thy sweet voice a sweeter note doth yield?" 48
- The silly crow, bewitchd with flattering praise,
 Addrest herselfe to give the foxe a song,
 When opening wide her bill to chaunt her laies, 51
 Downe fell the prey she held ! The foxe ere long
 It quite devoured had, gan her deride ;
 Then, all too late, his cunning she espide. 54
- Such crowes are they whom flatterers beguile ;
 Such foxes they which flatter, faune, & cog :
 Brittans, let them no more sucke vp your oyle ; 57 Men beguiled by
 Be Aesops crow noe more, but Aesops dog.
 Chace hence these foxes, which at your mercy stand,
 For our then happy made Eutopian land. 60

Somnium.

- About that time when as the chearfull spring
 Bedeekes the earth w/ih her sweet smelling flowers,
 When pretty birds w/ih their sweet caroling, 3
 Record their ditties in Silvanus bowers,
 I fortunde, envited by the aire, In the spring I
 Vnto a pleasant grove to make repaire. 6 wandered into a
 Quite through the thicket ran a pleasant spring, [leaf 49]
 Whose gentle gliding a sweet murmure made ;
 The place (sufficient to content a king) 9
 Allurde me to repose vnder the shade
 Of a broad beech, the aptnesse of which seat
 Preservde me from the sunnes annoying heat. 12
 and sat down
 under a broad
 beech,
- Not many minutes did I there repose,
 Ere gentle Morpheus, powerfull god of sleep,

where I soon
fell asleep,

With his compelling charmes mine eyes did close. 15
 Such harmony the chirping birdes did keep
 Coniointly with the sweetly warbling streme,
 That my long slumber did begett this dreame : 18

and dreamed an
amazing dream.

Me thought it was about the dead of night,
 What time there was presented to my view
 A spectacle that did me much affright, 21
 And all my sences in amazement drew ;
 Till manly courage, putting fear to flight,
 Made me expect the issue of the sight. 24

A woman
appeared to me in
costly robes and
crowned.

The fearfull obiect of my wandring eye,
 In shew appeard to be a womans shape ;
 Her looke was heavy, & did well descrie 27
 She had been subiect to noe mean mishappe :
 Her robes were costly, crown'd was her head,
 Which did foretell she was not basely bred. 30

In one hand a
sword, in the
other she held a
torch.

One of her handes a bloody sword did graspe,
 Wherwith had been transfixd her tender heart ;
 The other hand a burning torch did claspe, 33 -
 By light wherof I might descrie each part
 Of her well featured body, whose sad plight
 Drew forth salt teares from my relenting sight. 36

I would have
questioned her,
but was too
frightened.

I would have questiond whence, or who, she was,
 But admiration such amasement bred,
 That not one word from forth my lips could passe, 39
 My voice had lost his office & was dead,—
 Buried in silence lay ; when loe, ere long
 The apparition thus let lose her tongue :— 42

She spoke and
commanded me
to listen.

“ Young man ” (quoth she) “ thy spirites recollect ;
 Be not amazde mine vncouth shape to see ;
 Such peevious fear doth shew a minde deiect, 45
 Or guilty conscience, which are farre from thee :
 Give ear vnto me, & I will relate
 A true sad story of my passèd fate. 48

“I am by birth of most divine discent ;
 For I am daughter to immortall Iove,
 From whom into the world I first was sent
 As witnesse of his reconcilèd love
 With mortall man ; for which effect I came
 From heaven, & True Religion is my name.

She said she was
 the daughter of
 Jove, True
 Religion by
 name.

51

54

“First went I to the vnbeleeving Iewes ;
 But there I could smale entertainment finde :
 The greater part did vtterlie refuse
 To lodge me in their heartes, & wilfull blinde
 Did cast me from them ; though alone by me
 Man can attaine to true felicity.

[leaf 49, back]
 She went first to
 the Jews, who
 refused her.

57

60

“By them reected thus, I did intend
 Vnto the Gentiles next to bende my course,
 To see if they would greater favour lend :
 With these I had indeed somewhat great force,
 And purchasde a large kingdome with this crowne,
 Till the ten persecutions put me downe.

Then to the
 Gentiles, who
 listened to her.

63

66

“But noe oppression could me quite suppresse ;
 Nay, persecutions made me flourish more ;
 I still was slaine, yet still I did increase,
 And growing lesse, grew greater then before :
 Cammomill trodden doth the farther spred,
 And the palme prest, the higher lifts his head.

No oppressions
 could put her
 down.

69

72

“Rome was of yore my place of residence,
 Where as a soveraigne I long time did sitt,
 Till antichristian prelats drave me thence ;
 Then did I flie to Brittaine, & in it
 I have till now, & ever will remaine,
 Till the world shall to chaos turne againe.

75 She was driven
 from Rome to
 Brittaiu,

78

“With this sharp sword, which in my hand I holde,
 A cruell Lady peared me to the heart ;
 The wound is fresh to see, the blood scarce colde,— 81
 Her name was Mary that did act this parte :

where Mary
 pierced her to the
 heart.

But e're she kilde me she was slaine by death,
And I reviv'd'e by young Elizabeth.

84

But Elizabeth
revived her.

"Forty-fower yeares this far renownèd queen,
Honord of all, me above all did honor ;
But fates her, graie in yeares, in vertues green, 87
Cald to a worthier place, death seazd vpon her,
And for this world, which nought but sorrow yeilds,
Carried Eliza to th' Elizian fields. 90

Afterwards came
the "good
Josiah," James I.,

"After her death the good Iosiah came,
When the land feard some sodaine innovation,
And, for the propagation of my name, 93
Contracts a league with many a neighbour nation ;
Wisely foreseeing that by such a peace,
My crowne should flourish & my power encrease. 96

[leaf 50]
under whom
she rules Britain
in spite of Rome.

"Vnder this monarch, or above him, rather,
I rule this Britaine Empire & doe bring
Many a soule vnto my heavenly Father, 99
In spite of Rome, which for me hates the king :
But God will blesse him, & vnto the end
He and his issue shall my cause defend. 102

The torch she
carries is to
disperse the
mists of error.

"If thou wouldest know whie this bright burning light
Mine other hand doth bear, I will thee tell ;
I have an enemie as darke as night, 105
Cald Error (I to heaven, she leades to hell)
Whose blacknesse to obscure me doth endevour,
But that this light doth her false mists dissever. 108

She looks down-
cast because of
the hypocrisy

"The reason why I looke thus heavily,
Is 'cause of late my power gins decay ;
That hellish monster, damnd hypocrisie, 111
Doth carry in the land far greater sway ;
Enters my temples &, in spite of me,
Vsurps my place & titles soveraigntie. 114

“There is a sort of purest seeming men,
That aide this monster in her wrongfull cause,
Those the world nameth—Puritanes I meane—
Sent to supplant me from the very iawes
Of hell, I think ; by whose apparent shew
Of sanctity doe greatest evils grow.

117 of the sancti-
monious
Puritans,

120

“Vnless the hand of wise authority
Doe reinstall me in my former place,
And punish them & their hypocrisie,
They will ere long mine honour quite deface.
And so I prethee, tell him gentle youth,—

123 who must be put
down.

Be not afraide, 'tis nothing but the truth.”

126

This saide, methought she vanishd from my sight,
And left me much perplexèd in my thought.
I musde a Puritan should be a wight
So seeming good, & yet soe passing naught ;
Till thinking long vpon so strange a theame,
At last I wakd, & then I writ my dreame.

Then she
vanished,129 and I mused on
Puritans till I
awoke.

132

In curiosos theologos.

You high aspiring wittes, which seeke to prie
Into the secretes of the Diety,
Is 't not enough to know his will reveald,
But you must aime at that which is conceald ?
By curious inquisition, too much light
Hath made you lose the perfect vse of sight.
Saint Austines saying may you well befit,
Whiche vnto one would know (without all witt)
By curious interrogation,
What God did ere he layd the worldes foundation,
Replide, “I think, or rather know full well,
He made for such as thee infernall hell.”

Is it not enough
to know what is
revealed, but
some would know
the Divine
secrets ?

4

[leaf 50, back]

8

Remember the
saying of
Augustine to one
of these in-
quisitors.

12

Hell is the place
for them.

A place most meet for them that dare adventure
Into Godes secret cabbinet to enter.

O, strive not then to know his secreet will,
Which art can never compasse with her skill!

16

Gratia peccatum superat.

I soar to the
throne of grace,

Mounted on winges of high aspiring thought,

I soare a loft vp to the throne of grace ;

My heartes repent, by true contrition wrought,

I there present before th' Almighties face.

4

The spotlesse Lambe which for my guilt was slaine,

I offer vp a ransome for my sinne ;

With sighs, praiers, teares, I begge release of paine,

Of him that ever mercifull hath been.

8

My soule thus seated in divine desires,

Selfe-love allurs me vnto vaine delight,

Then quenchèd are my former heavenly fires,

Till grace doth once againe put sinne to flight.

12

Sin and grace
strive together.

Thus sinne with grace, & grace with sinne doth strive,
Till sin lie dead, & grace doe sinne survive.

14

Christianus Agnus.

A Christian must
be like a Lamb

Like a young tender lambe that man must be
Which doth professe true Christianity

With sincere heart, in imitation

First of that spotlesse Lambe, whose Passion

4

Brought sinfull man from endlesse misery

To the true center of felicity.

in innocence,
gentleness,
quietness,

Next, as a lambe is harmlesse, innocent,

Meek, gentle, humble, quiet, patient,

8

So must a Christian be ; his harmlesse life

Must be devoide of all malicious strife.

Revilde, he must not once revile againe,

But must doe good for ill, must suffer paine

12

And persecution with an humble heart		
And patient minde ; yea, though it doe impart		patience in suffering,
The bodies death ; such martirdome shalbe		
A glorious crowne of immortality.	16	
Lastly, in this respect (if I not erre)		
A lamb is a true Christians charecter :		
The infant lambe among a thousand sheep,		[leaf 51]
Whose frequent bleatings a lounde murmure keepe,	20	and in knowing his own Mother
Knowes his owne damme when he but heares her voice,		
And to sucke her milke onlie doth reioyce :		
So must a Christian know the Church his mother	24	
By her owne voice, the word of God, from other		
Which are but stepdames :—Popish congregations,		from all others by whom she is surrounded.
Brownisme, & Puritannike invocation[s],		
Which bleat false doctrine & damnd heresies,		
He must distinguish from true misteries ;	28	
And like an infant lambe, the childe of grace,		
Sucke only from her breastes, which flow apace		
With the sincere milke of Godes holie word,		
His soules nutrition. Thus ther is accord	32	
In these respectes & more, which I le not trace,		
Twixt lambes of nature & the lambes of grace.	34	There are lambs of nature, and lambs of grace.

Christianus Navis.

A ship vnto a certaine haven bent,		
Turmoilde in Neptunes watry element,		
With longing expectation doth attend		
To make arrivall to his wished end.	4	
This ship thus troubled is a Christiane		
Tost vp and downe in the vast ocean		
Of this terrestriall orbe, of whch even all		
We fitlie by the name of sea may call ;	8	
For 'tis a place of perturbation,		
Of anguish, sorrowe & vexation,		

- endeavouring to escape all dangers
- Like the tempestuous sea ; & is to vs
For rockes, quicksandes, & gulfes, as dangerous. 12
- Vpon this ocean terrestriall,
This ship, this vessell allegoricall,
A Christian, floating vp & downe, doth strive
To heaven his safest haven to arrive. 16
- and to reach a haven at last.
- Which harbour ere he can entirely winne,
He must first passe by rockes & gulfes of sinne,
And therfore needes good preparation
To make a prosperous navigation. 20
- The ship must be properly rigged,
- Assist me Phœbus, & I will recite
How he must riggèd be to saile vpright.
The earthly stufte wherof this ship 's composde
Is flesh & bones in order well disposde. 24
- [leaf 51, back]
with masts of love, sails of faith, the anchor of hope.
- Ships have their sides or ribbes, & soe hath man
All tacklings else, soe must a Christian.
The maine-mast must be love o' th' Diety ;
The lesser ones, meeke heart & charity ; 28
- The sailes strong faith, hope anchor is assignde,
And fervent prayer is the gentle wind
That blowes it forward ; other tacklings be
Good thoughtes, good wordes, good workes, which trinity
Must all conioyne in one to holde the sailes,
For when these stringes slip, faith then quicklie failes.
- The pilot, God's Word.
- The pilote which must alway be aborde
To steere the right way, is Godes holy worde ; 36
- The sences must the common sailers be,
Affections, slaves restraine de libertie,
Kept only to take paines, their actions
Must still be ordered by directions 40
- Given by reason, which must have some sway
- All must obey the pilot.
- In this same voyage ; but all must obey
The counsell of the pilot, & still stand
Prest at his service, when he doth command. 44
- Now, 'cause this voyage cannot welbe made
Free from all danger, but ther will invade

- | | |
|---|---|
| Some hostile foe or other ; be ther plaid | |
| A prospective vpon the top o' th' mast, | 48 |
| Wherin 'tis fitt that carefull diligence | must be kept to
discover enemies; |
| Keep evermore his watchfull residence, | |
| And straight give notice, when he doth descrie | 52 |
| The force & comming of the enemie. | |
| For Sathan, that leviathan, that whale, | |
| Who is an enemie & ever shall | |
| To Christian man, doth wat[e]h occasion | 56 |
| When he may make his best invasion. | |
| Wherfore against this foe, which seekes to kill, | |
| Offensive & defensive weapons still | |
| This ship must carrie, & himselfe prepare | |
| To fight it out like a strong man of warre. | 60 |
| First at his beake-head he must fasten on | |
| Th' impenetrable helme salvation, | |
| And then the breastplate of true righteousnes | |
| Which will resist the devill, & represse | 64 |
| His furious rage. Then faith his sheild must be | |
| To quench the balles of wilde-fyer presentlie ; | |
| But the sword of the spirit Sathan quailles, | |
| And to attaine the conquest never failes : | 68 |
| This is the weapon that the pirate woundes, | |
| This is the sword-fish which the whale confounds. | |
| Thus if vnto the end he doe endure | |
| Like a brave champion, then he shalbe sure | 72 |
| The fiend will like a coward run away, | |
| And he, a happy victour, gett the day. | |
| Then having once attaintd the victorie, | |
| He may advance his flag trivmphantly, | |
| And saile with ioy, till he the port attaine, | |
| Where in perpetuall blisse he shall remaine. | 78 |
| | weapons offensive
and defensive
must always be
ready, |
| | and faith will, as
a shield, "quench
the balls of wild-
fire." |
| | [leaf 52] |
| | Enduring unto
the end he will
arrive safe in
port. |

Deum nescire est nihil scire,
ipsum rectè scire, omnia.

Philosophers may
search into all
things,

but if they are
ignorant of God
they are but
fools.

Astronomers can
foretell many
things,

yet all their
knowledge is
vain, and they
are in ignorance.

- Philosophers, which search the cause of things
 As farre as nature gives their knowledge winges
 To soar vnto ; whose quicke & ready witt
 A definition to each thing can fitt ; 4
 Though they can sillogize with arguments
 Of all things, from the heavens circumference
 To the earths center, & true reason give
 Of natures power, which makes things move & live ; 8
 Yet if they want faiths intellectuall eye
 First to believe ther is a Diety,
 In Godhead one alone, in Persons three,
 By whom all creatures are, & cease to be, 12
 They are but fooles, & they 'r still blinde, not seeing
 The Cause of causes, which gives all their being.
- Astronomers that can foretell eventes
 By the celestiall creatures influence, 16
 By errant planettes & by fixèd starres,
 Can pre-divine of famines, plagues, & warres ;
 And of their contraries pre-indicate,
 Which come by an ineveitable fate ; 20
 Can shew th' ecclipses of the sunne & moone,
 And how the planettes make coniunction ;
 Which have found out, & will maintaine it true,
 Three orbes, which Aristotle never knew. 24
 Yet all this knowledge, though it reach as farre
 As is the Articke from th' Antartick starre,
 Is nothing, if they know not God above,
 That Primus Motor, which all orbes doth move ; 28
 Their art wherin they doe themselves advaunce,
 Lives still ecclipsèd in black ignorance.
- Phisitions which prescribe a remedy
 To each disease & bodies maladie ; 32

That know what is nocivous, & what good,
When it is fit to bath, to purge, let bloode ;
Although they know the nature & the power
Of every simple, every hearbe, & flower,
With Solomon, which from the cedar tall
Vnto the hisope spreading on the wall,
Knew every growing plant, flower, hearbe, or tree,
With their true vse & proper qualitie ;
Yet all their skill as follie I deride,
Vnlesse they rightly know Christ crucified.
He, he it is, which truly is alone
The soules best physicke & Physition.

[leaf 52, back]
Physicians
know the virtues
of herbs,

36
40
yet if they are
ignorant of
Christ, their
skill is but folly.

44

All artes, as well those we call liberall
As other sciences mechanicall,
What e're they be, & howsoever lov'de,
And worthily by mortall man approv'de,
If the best knowledge theologicall,
Be not conioynèd with their rationall,—
What e're they may vnto *the world* professe—
All their best wisdome is starke foolishnesse.
He is the only wise & prudent man
Whose knowledge makes him the best Christian.

48

The Christian is
the only wise
man.

52

For practise must agree with speculation,
Belief & knowledge must guide operation ;
Man may believe & yet he may dissemble,
For even the divels doe beleeve & tremble.
'Tis not enough that we beleeve a God,
For this will all confesse that feele his rod ;
But we must alsoe in this God beleieve,
And in our actions not the Spirit grieve.

56

The devils
believe and
tremble.

60

We must beleeve that it was he alone
Which gave to man his first creation,
And that from him alone comes our redemption,
Which is from everlasting death exemption ;
That we in him alone are iustifide,
And by him only shall be glorifide.

64
We must believe
that God created
and redeemed us.

68

This we must trow & (though it passe our sence)
 Repose in this assurde confidence,
 Which how we must performe in each respect
 The Scripture plainly doth vs all direct. 72

The man who
 knows these
 things,

[leaf 53]

though a fool in
 men's eyes,

has a knowledge
 to be preferred
 before that of
 physicians,
 lawyers,
 astronomers.

He that knowes this (although *the poorest worme*)
 And to this knowledge doth his life conforme,

Want he the giftes of nature, education,
 Speake he the tongue but of one only nation ; 76

Be he a foole in the esteeme of man,
 In worldly thinges a meer simplian ;
 Yet for all this, I boldly dare averre

His knowledge great, & will it farre preferre
 Before the skill of wise philosophiers,

Phisitions, lawyers, & astronomers,
 Which either want the knowledge of the Diety,

And live in sinne & damnd impiety, 80

Or, if they know a God, doe fear him rather
 As a just Judge then as a loving Father.

He that doth truly know Christ crucifide,

Doth know enough, though he know nought¹ beside ;
 But he that knowes him not doth only rave,

Though all the skill else in the world he have. 90

Ternarius numerus perfectissimus.

The number Three
 is the principal
 number.

Three chief
 causes.

Of all the numbers arithmeticall,
 The number three is heald for principall,
 As well in naturall philosophy
 As supernaturall theologie. 4

Philosophers, in causes naturall,
 Holde that all thinges have their originall
 From three chief causes, or principia,
 And therfor say tria sunt omnia,
 From three all essence & existence growe,
 Materia, forma, & privatio. 8

¹ Perhaps *naught* in MS.

- The body three dimensions doth include,
And they are these, length, bredth, profunditude. 12
In mathematique bodies three thinges please,
their punctum, linea, superficies.
Bodies have three dimensions.
- The soule, that breath of life, we threecold call,
Vegitive, sensitive, & rationall.
The soul is three-fold.
- Time doth his three divisive partes endure,
That which is past, the present, & future.
So is time.
- There are three graces ; ther be vertues three,
Theologicall, faith, hope, & charity.
Three Graces.
- The father of the faithfull, Abraham,
Receivde three Angels which vnto him came.
Three angels appeared to Abraham.
- From the fiercee flames of Nebuchadnezar
God was the three childrens Deliverer.
[leaf 53, back]
- Ionah, whose flight Godes mandat had opposde,
In the whales belly three dayes was enclosde.
Jonah three days in the whale.
- Christ, to give man a new regenerate birth,
Was three dayes in the bowels of the earth ;
Christ three days in the grave.
- When he from death & hell a Victour rose,
Did three times visible himselfe disclose
28
- To his disciples ; thrice bad Peter keepe
And nourish well his flock of lambs & sheepe.
Three
- Thrice was let downe to Peter in a dreame
A sheet, with beastes, birdes, creeping things vncleane,
And he thrice bidden eat, denide consent,
The sheet was let down to Peter three times.
- Whilst three men sought him, from Cornelius sent. 36
- The heavenly kingdome, that celestiall bower,
A leaven is, hid in three peckes of flower.
Three Persons in the Trinity.
- Lastly, but principallie, above all
The Diety in Persons three we call ;
This Trinity it is¹ indeed alone
Which gives this number best perfection.
- Thrice happy is that man, with ioy shall see
This Perfect Number, this Thrice Glorious Three. 44

¹ MS. *is is.*

De duplii adventu Christi.

As soon as man
had sinned,

When sinfull man in Edens garden plac'd,
By stubborne disobedience had defac'd
The true idea of his happinesse,
And had deservde, for soe great wickednesse, 4
Eternall death, loe, mercy then began
To mitigate the punishment of man.

mercy began to
mitigate his
punishment.

Though earth was cursde, & man must by the sweat
Of his owne labour make it yeild him meat ; 8
Though woman, whom the serpent had beguilde,
In paine & sorrowe must bring forth her childe ;
Yet from eternall death the promisde seed
Put them in comfort that they should be freed. 12
To which effect the only Son of Iove,
Out of the infinitenesse of his love

[leaf 51]

Christ made
satisfaction for
him.

To his own likenesse man, came downe from heaven,
Toke flesh vpon him, was of life bereaven, 16
And made full satisfaction by his death
For all their sinnes, whch by a lively fayth
Lay holde vpon his meritorious Passion,
The perfect path that leads vnto salvation. 20

Christ's first
coming was in
the flesh.

This Christes first comming was, whch we doe name
A comming vnto vs in grace ; to frame
Mans soule to come to him, he first began
To come him selfe in grace to sinfull man, 24
From a pure Virgin to take incarnation,
From impure Iewes, his patient Passion.

His birth was
poor.

His first Advent yeilds a quaternall section,
His birth, his life, his death, his resurrection. 28
His birth was poore, that by his poverty
We might be made rich in eternity.

He lived
despised of man,

Borne in a cratch 'mongst beastes (yet for our gaine)
That in heavens kingdome we with saintes might raigne.

He livd despide of man, to get vs grace 33
With God the Father ; meekly did embrace

- (Sole sinne excepted) each infirmitie
 Coincident to fraile humanity,
 That he might put vs in a better state,
 And in his weaknesse vs corroborate.
 As he was man he yeilded vp his breath
 To save vs men from an eternall death,
 Which death was full of agonie & paine,
 That *our* life purchasd, might in joy remaine.
 Lastly, as God he subdued death & hell,
 And rose againe from the infernall cell
 Of conquerd Sathan, to prepare the way
 For vs to follow him ; and now this day
 Sitting in maiesty at Gods right hand,
 Sole Mediatour for *our* cause doth stand,
 And till his second comming, shall doe still
 To plead their cause which doe obey his will ;
 Which second comming shall in glory be,
 And in vnytterable maiestie. 52
- The generall resurrection shalbe then,
 And dust & wormes returne to living men.
 Then shall *our* corruptible¹ flesh put on
 Immortalnesse & incorruption. 56
- Then shall we see Christ comming in the cloudes,
 When some will wish whole mountaines were their
 shroudes. His second
 coming will be
 in clouds and
 majesty.
- Then he the sheep from goates shall separate,
 The iust & godly from *the* reprobate,
 And sheepe have blisse ; the other for their lire
 Perpetuall paines & everlasting fire. 60
- Thus shall his second powerfull comming be
 The godlies ioy, the wickedes misery.
 Twixt his first comming & his latter one
 There wilbe found much discrepation.
 First did he come in all humility,
 Then shall he come in splendant royalty ; 68

¹ May be *corruptible* in MS.

36

40

44

48

and gave His life
for man,

[leaf 54, back]

56

64

It will be joy to
the godly,
misery to the
wicked.

First to be iudgèd by *the* world he came,
 Then shall he come as Lord to iudge the same ;
 In his first comming he for man did die,
 In this he shall give's lifes eternity. 72

May we use the
first to prepare us
for the second!

May we the first advent of Christ emploie
 So to our good that at the latter day,
 His second comming, when he shall appeare,
 Before our Judge we may without all feare 76
 Expect that happy sentence, "Come ye blest,
 And enter into everlasting rest." 78

In Momum.

Momus derides
my verse,

but he has
wronged better
men than I.

Momus, that foulmouthd slave, my verse derides ;
 Sayes they are plaine, bald balladstuffe ; besides
 They want invention, poetrie, & witt,
 And are farre worse then ever Bavius writt. 4
 Dost not thou like 'em, Momus ? Why I 'me glad ;
 That which thou likst, I 'me sure must needs be bad.
 But be they soe, as worse thou canst not prove them,
 I tell thee they like me, & I will love them. 8
 As for thy scoffes, I neither doubt nor fear them,
 Thou hast wrongd better, therfore I may beare them.¹

[End.]

¹ The Poems end here without any horizontal line. The next leaf of the volume is the fly-leaf of another MS.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX

(INCLUDING PROPER NAMES).

Note. For the extracts from Marlowe I have used Mr Dyce's ed. 1858; from Greene and Peele, his ed. 1861. For those from John Taylor, the Water-Poet, I have used the Spenser Society's reprint of the Folio ed. of 1630. Where not otherwise stated the reference is to the page. H. = Halliwell's *Archaic Dict.* P. = Kersey's *Phillips*, 1708.

- | | |
|---|---|
| A, a nightes, 90/2852. | A forehand, 83/2609, before. |
| A, a safe, 60/1813, very safe. | After-clap, 68/2126, the punishment which follows an unlawful act. |
| To steal sands from the shore he loves <i>a-life</i> . <i>Marlowe</i> , 337. | Ahab, 50/1501. |
| Abie, 23/613, pay for, expiate. | Aleheron, 9/188, Aleoran, the Koran. |
| Thou shalt dear <i>aby</i> this blow. <i>Greene</i> , 259. | Alehouse, 60/1821.
Farewell my Cowslippe sweete,
Pray lets a Sunday at the <i>Alehouse</i> meet. Sam. Rowlands,
<i>The Letting of Hemours Blood</i> , etc. Sat. 4. |
| Abraham, 39/1158, 149/21. | Alehouse-haunter, 60/1813, a frequenter of the ale-house. |
| Abroach, new-set-abroach-fantastique fashion, 85/2706. Fantastic fashions, newly invented, or introduced. | Alexander VI., 78/2436, Pope. Died, 1503. |
| Adon[is], 37/1101. | Allegant, 63/1919, wine from Alicant. |
| Adrus, 105/3352, Dives, rich. | Sweet <i>Allegant</i> , and the concoeted Cute. <i>Taylor</i> , 549. |
| Advantageous, 107/3429. | Boxt <i>Alligant</i> with Sugar and Eggs. <i>Hegwood's Philocoth.</i> p.48. |
| <i>Adantageous care</i> | Sweet wines . . . Tent, <i>Halligan</i> . <i>Ib.</i> |
| Withdrew me from the odds of multitude. <i>Troil. & Cress.</i> v. 4. | Alston, 107/3442. |
| Æsculapius, 69/2163. | |
| Æsop, 136/43. | |
| Aflaunt, 86/2726, showily dressed. | |
| Al <i>aflaunt</i> now vaunt it; | |
| Brave wench, east away care; | |
| With layes of love chaunt it, | |
| For no cost see thou spare. | |
| <i>Promos and Cassandra</i> , i. 2. II. | |

- Amber, greece of, 36/978, ambergris, a perfume.
 Embalm'd with cassia, *ambergris*, and myrrh. *Marlowe*, 53.
- Amoretto, 93/2927, one who yields to "love-kindling looks."
 How martial is the figure of his face!
 Yet lovely and beset with *amorets*. *Greene*, 168.
- Cotgrave has "Amourettes. Louet-tricks, wanton loue-toyes, tickling, ticklings, daliances," &c. *Ib. note by Ed.*
- Amorphus, 97/3088, deformed, ugly.
- Anabaptists, 9/195, a sect whose distinctive tenet is, that those who have been baptized in their infancy ought to be baptized anew.
- Anaidus, 104/3332, irreverent.
- Ananias, 46/1370.
- Anchoves, 87/2769, anchovies.
- Angels, 48/1490, the name of a coin varying in value from six shillings and eightpence to ten shillings. It was introduced by Ed. IV.
 My Lawyer said the case was blaine for mee,
 The *Angell* told him so hee tooke for fee :
 But yet my *Angell* and my Lawyer lyed,
 For at my Judgement I was dannified. *Taylor*, 515.
- Antæus, 101/3213.
- Anthony, 59/1779.
- Antilegon, 49/1487, a disputer.
- Aphrodite, 131/3.
- Apitius, 58/1765, ?Gr. *apites*, perry.
- Apollo, 41/1214, 70/2170, 103/3300, 113/1.
- Appetituall, 18/496, appetitive, belonging to the appetite.
- Arch-defender, 68/2111.
- Architecture, 55/1668, heaven's architecture, the skies.
- Argus, 2/27.
- Aristippian, 136/37, pertaining to Aristippus.
- Aristotle, 29/821, 146/24.
- Arras, clothes of, 36/1044, a superior kind of tapestry, so named from Arras in the French Netherlands, which was celebrated for its manufacture. "I'll not speak another word, except the ground were perfumed, and covered with cloth of arras." *Marlowe*, 89.
- Assimilate, 118/78, to compare.
- Astrea, 50/1524, 88/2791, 135/9.
- Athenian, 94/2965.
- Augustin, S., 28/816, 141/7.
- Aurimont, 41/1211.
- Aurora, 113/5.
- Avarice, 41/1201.
- Avieen, 29/822. Died, 1037.
- Baal, 51/1562.
- Bacchanal, 62/1907.
- Bacchus, 63/1919, 70/2193, 87/2762, 114/29.
- Balladstuffe, 152/2, worthless rhymes.
- Bavius, 152/4, a bad poet, contemporary with Virgil and Horace.
- Bayard, prov., "Who so bold as blind Bayard?" 95/3000.
- Beake-head, 145/61, of a ship.
- Beer, broken, 60/1845, spilt beer.
 "Remnants of beer." *H.*
- Begorde, 68/2100, covered with gore.
- Beholding, 90/2853, beholden.
 "And so I will, my Lord; and, whilst I live, rest beholding for this courtesy." *Marlowe*, 98.
- Belike, 53/1611, 73/2306, perhaps. "Staves-acre! why, then,

- belike*, if I were your man, I should be full of vermin." *Marlowe*, 84.
- Bell, phr., "Win the silver bell," 62/1884, to gain the highest prize, to beat, or excel all. See also 119/24.
Of all the Bawdes that euer were,
The Deuill himselfe *the bell away*
doth beare. *Taylor*, 254.
- Bellie-cheer, 10/232, eating and drinking.
Bald-pate friars,
Whose *summum bonum* is in *belly-cheer*. *Marlowe*, 91.
- At supper with such *belly-cheer*
As Wagner ne'er beheld in all
his life. *Ib.* 98.
- Bellona, 25/708, the goddess of war.
- Bereaven, 54/1638, bereft.
My senslesse braines, of wit and
sence *bereauen*. *Taylor*, 389.
- Bernard, S., 28/816.
- Besprent, 100/3174, besprinkled.
- Betterice, 104/3316, ? Beatrice.
- Bewraide, 108/3471, bewrayed.
- Bit, phr., "two bits," 20/571,
two bites, two morsels.
- Bitte, 109/3500, bit.
- Blew, 60/1837, "Till the ground
seems blue," till they are drunk.
A drunckard is "One that will
drinke till the ground lookes blew,"
in Heywood's *Philocoeth*. p. 44.
- Blotted, 86/2735, spotted, ruined.
- Blubbered, 100/3195. "O, run,
Doll, run; run, good Doll; come.
[She comes *blubbered*.] Yea, will
you come, Doll?" 2 *Hen. IV.* ii. 4.
- Blushlesse, 115/34.
- Bolster, 37/1073, prop up, support.
- Boore, 27/763, boor, a rustic.
Hobnauld *Boores*, & sheep skin
country clowns. *Taylor*, 511.
- Bootelesse, 45/1325, in vain, to
no purpose, profitless.
I'll follow him no more with *bootless*
prayers. *Mer. of Ven.* iii. 3.
- Bord, 19/520, board, table.
- Borgia, Cæsar, 78/2431. Died,
1507.
- Bottle-ale, 62/1909.
Away, you *bottle-ale* rascal.
2 *Hen. IV.* ii. 4.
One madly sits like *bottle-Ale*,
and hisses. *Taylor*, 307.
- Bottle-nose, 98/3100, a large nose.
- Bout, 60/1832, a contest.
- Braggadocio, 26/731
Brane *Bragudocia* whom the world
doth threaten,
Was lately with a Faggot-sticke
sore beaten. *Taylor*, 508.
- Brat, 131/1, a child.
- Bread, phr., "To know on which
side the bread is buttered," 64/
1987, to know what is for one's
advantage. In Heywood's *Philocoeth*, one of the titles of a drunkard
is, "One that knowes of which
side his bread is butter'd." p. 45.
- Bread-chipper, 27/775, one who
chipped the crusts off burnt bread
(see Index to *Babees Book*); a term of
contempt. "A' would have made
a good pantler, a' would ha' *chipped*
bread well." 2 *Hen. IV.* ii. 4.
"Not to dispraise me, and call me
pantler and *bread-chipper*." *Ib.*
- Brooke, 60/1811, to bear patiently.
First let me ask of these,
If they can *brook* I bow a knee to
man. 2 *Hen. VI.* v. 1.
- Brownisme, 4/16. See p. xxviii.
- Brusano, 90/2865, one who is
vigorous, or enjoys life.
- Brute, 26/728, the legendary
founder of Britain.
- By, to put by conceit, 119/102,
to undeeceive.
- Cæcilius, 98/3119, proper name.
- Cain, 94/2967.
- Calidity, 117/53, heat.
- Caligula, 102/3267.

- Camelion, 118/75, chameleon.
- Can, 59/1800, a vessel.
Canne follow'd *Canne*, and Pot succeeded Pot. *Taylor*, 136.
- Canarie, 62/1916. "From the Spaniard . . . Malligo . . . sherry, *Canary*, Moscatell." *Heywood's Philocoth.* p. 48.
- Cancer, 113/20.
- Caneckered, 91/2887. Eaten with the Canker or with Rust. *P.* See *Anat. of Abuses*, p. 111: "There are three *cauckers*, whiche, in processe of time, wil eate vpp the whole common wealth," where caterpillar is meant, as in *Two Gent. Ver.* i. 1.
- Captivde, 109/3495, held in captivity, enslaved.
- Carrier, Dr, 52/1583. See note, p. x.
- Cashier, 87/2744.
 Maymed *cassiered* Soldiers and Mariners. *Taylor*, 87.
- Cast, 61/1851, to vomit.
- Cast office, 27/781, cast off, despised, abandoned.
 While thread-bare Martiall turns his merry note,
 To beg of Rufus a *cast* winter-coat. *Hall's Satires*, vi. 1.
- Castles in the air, to build, 118/97.
- Catastrophe, 111, end.
- Cates, 56/1683, 87/2774, dainty victuals.
- Cato, 29/824, 132/9.
- Ceres, 87/2763, 113/23.
- Cervius, 59/1799, 61/1887, *Corrisia*, a Gallie word, meaning Beer.
- Cevillian, 134/1, one versed in civil law. See p. xvi.
- Chalk from cheese, phrase, 28/794.
 Tom is no more like thee, then *Chalks like cheese*. S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Hrmoris Blood*, etc., Sat. 6.
- Chalkd out, 9/181, pointed out.
 For it is you that have *chalk'd forth the way*
 Which brought us hither. *Tempest*, v. 1.
- Channell, 105/3367, kennell, gutter. See quotation under *Iustled*.
- Chapmen, 43/1282, dealers, customers.
- Charles V., 25/685. Died, 1558.
- Charnico, 62/1916, a kind of sweet wine.
 Well, happy is the man doth rightly know
 The vertue of three cuppes of *Charnico*.
 S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Hrmoris Blood*, etc., Sat. 6.
 And here, neighbour, here's a cup of *charneco*. 2 *Hen. VI.* ii. 3.
 Peter-se-meas, or head strong *charneco*. *Taylor*, 549.
- It is called *charnio* by Heywood, *Philocoth.* p. 8.
- Charon, 72/2267.
- Charret, 63/1921, claret.
 Claret, Red nor White, Graues nor High-Country could our hearts delight. *Taylor*, 549.
- Cheap, phrase, good cheap, 65/2014.
- Checke, 52/1576, restraint; censure, reproof, or reproach.
 Rebuke and *check* was the reward of valour. 2 *Hen. IV.* iv. 3.
- Child, prov., "The burnt child dreads the fire," 102/3243.
- Chinek, 61/1872, 104/3341, money.
 Both lybertie and *Chinek* ynone himselfe he will allow.
Newes out of Powles, Sat. 5.
 Some of their pockets are oft stor'd with *chink*. *Taylor*, 197.
- Chockt, 14/343, choked.
- Chremes, 103/3289, the name of an avaricious old man in the *Andria* of Terence.

- Chuffe, 26/749, a reproachful term often applied to an old miser.
 Mizer *chuffes* who charitic doe banish. *Taylor*, 398.
- If he but steale a sheepe from out the fold,
 The *chuffe* would hang him for it if he could. *Ib.* 494.
- Cirree, 23/617.
- Civet, 34/979, a perfume obtained from the civet-cat.
 Is not this a sweet pride, to haue *civet?* *Anat. of Abuses*, p. 73.
 And though they were perfum'd with *Civet* hot
 Yet wanting these things they would stinke and rot. *Taylor*, 549.
- Clap, 80/2530, caught a clap = met with a mishap.
- Claudia, 80/2530.
- Cleopatra, 59/1779.
- Climenes, 131/1(2).
- Cloggd, 109/3496, burdened.
- Clogging, 92/2918, leading, or burthening. The noun is used in the following passage:—"I'll hang a *clog* about your neck for running away again." *Marlowe*, 59.
- Closely, 85/2691, secretly.
 Now every man put off his bur-gonet,
 And so convey him *closely* to his bed. *Marlowe*, 234.
- Cloy, 85/2674.
- Cocus, 48/1433, a cook.
- Codpiece, 27/758, an artificial protuberance to the breeches.
- Codrus, 49/1481, proper name.
- Cog, 137/56, to lie, to cheat.
- Coinquinate, 136/16. "To coin-quinate, staine, or desile." *Miush.* 1627.
- Cold comfort, phr. 57/1704, no relief, no sympathy.
- Collation, 88/2785.
- Collier—devil, prov., "Like to like, the collier and the devil," 98/3097.
- Comines, Philip de, 28/814.
- Commæculate, 71/2216, 96/3046, to spot, pollute.
- Commerce, 51/1537, to trade with, deal with.
- Comprisde, 85/2682, comprised to act, etc., in which the "villany" was to be acted.
- Consubstantiation, 17/473.
- Convented, 49/1472, convened, summoned.
 The king hath commanded To-morrow morning to the coun-cil-board
 He be *convented*. *Hen. VIII.* v. 1.
- Convertites, 77/2413, converts.
 No, governor, I will be no *con-vertite*. *Marlowe*, 149.
 See *As You Like It*, v. 4.
- Coram, 46/1382, "Justice of peace and coram." Coram, "an ignorant mistake for Quorum."
 "Robert Shallow, esquire . . . justice of peace and 'Coram.'" *Merry W. of W.* i. 1.
- Cornelius, 149/36.
- Corrivals, 35/1024, rivals.
 So he that doth redeem her thence might wear
 Without *corrival* all her dignities. *1 Hen. IV.* i. 3.
- Corroborate, 151/38, to strengthen. "Meates (moderately taken) *corborate* the body, refreshe the arteries, and reuiue the spirits." *Anat. of Abuses*, 114.
- Coryate, 26/721, "was bepraised and abused as much as any man." See *Taylor's Works*, *Corbet's Poems*, etc. He died in 1617.
- Cosens, 43/1282, cheats.
 To lye, to *cousen*, to forsware, and sweare. *Taylor*, 536.
- Cote, 13/316, 16/408, quote, speak about, "make a note of."
 "He sayeth moreover that he hath

- coated* a number of contrarieties out of the Scriptures." (*Bame's Note*), *Marlowe*, 390.
- Cotten, 62/1883, to cotton, to succeed or prosper; to go right.
Why, so; now it *cottens*, now the game begins. *Geo. Peele*, 396.
- Course, 26/718, coarse.
Her with your *course* wives compare. *Taylor*, *A Pedlar and a Romish Priest*, p. 8.
- Cow, 26/731, coward. Cf. cowish, *K. Lear*, iv. 2.
- Coy, 59/1804, shy.
- Crasis, 24/647. "In a *Physical-Sense*, a proper Constitution, Temperature, or Mixture of Humours in an Animal Body." *P.*
- Crassus, 46/1393, proper name.
- Cratch, 150/31, a manger. "And she broght forth her fyrist begotten sonne, and wrapped him in swadlyng clothes, and layd him in a cretche, because there was no rowme for them with in y^e ynne." *Luke* ii. 7, *Gen. New. Test.* 1557.
- Cronologers, 100/3167.
- Cronologized, 72/2253, chronicled.
- Crosse-barre, 39/1151, an obstacle.
There is probably a reference to the cross-bar, or cross-beam of the gallows.
Out of the water shall appeare one dead,
A halter and *a crosse-barre* o'r his head. *Taylor*, 316.
- Crumbe-eatching, 135/1.
- Cue, 66/2038, 90/2879. "Cue, a terme vsed by Stage-players." *Minsch.* 1627.
His Buckram-bearer, one that knowes his *ku*,
Can write with one hand and receive with two." *Taylor*, 495.
- Cuffe, 43/1255, same as chuffie, *q.v.*
- Cupid, 45/1339, 93/2927.
- Curry favour, 48/1434, to flatter, gain favour.
- Cyclops, 117/38.
- Cynick-dog, 99/3143.
- Cynthia, 41/1214.
- Cytherea, 37/1102.
- Dabbes, 77/2402, ? deceives. Perhaps the same as *dub*. See 134/11. 134/12.
- Dad, 78/2448, father.
Thy body is the *Dad*, thy minde the Mam. *Taylor*, 232.
- The names used for food in Northamptonshire sometimes show the different classes of society :
Dad, mam, and porridge ;
Father, mother, and broth ;
Pa, ma, and soup.
- Dædalus, 132/11.
- Dagon, 51/1559.
- Damon, 24/654, a Pythagorean philosopher, the intimate friend of Pythias. When Damon was sentenced to death, and had obtained leave to go and settle his domestic affairs, Pythias pledged himself to undergo the punishment if Damon should not return in time.
- Danae, 42/1252.
- Dance, phr., "goc dance for," 39/1164, to wait for, obsequiously, perhaps. Cf. "Danced attendance on," 2 *Hen. VI*. i. 3; and "I dance attendance here," *K. Rich.* III. iii. 7.
- Dareling, 37/1102, darling.
- Daunce, a Scottish daunce, 86/2716. Cf. The Galliae Morbus, and the *Scottish fleas* (*Taylor*, 549), which were the result of indulging in the "Scottish dance."
- Daw, 46/1380, a foolish fellow, a slattern, or sluggard. *H.* A daw to a solicitor probably means what we now understand by a "lawyer's clerk."
- Day, phr., "dying day," 62/1900, day of death.

- Day, phr., "happie day," 12/275,
happiness, prosperity.
- Dealing trade. *See Trade.*
- Debaush, 58/1759, debauched,
dissolute. "A *Debosht* Drunkard."
Taylor, 335.
- Defame, 51/1541, 1556, to render
infamous.
- Deianira, 66/2059.
- Demosthenes, 42/1237.
- Describe, 121/26, descried.
- Detect, 82/2569, 133/10, to accuse.
These fishers tell the infirmities of
men:
And from their watery empire
recollect
All that may men approve or men
detect! *Pericles*, ii. 1.
- Devil, blew devill, 107/3443.
"Blue devils," the "horrors," or
the remorse which frequently fol-
lows an ill course of life.
- Devil, prov., "Goe they must be-
cause the devill drives," 52/1582;
"Needs must when the devil
drives."
- Diana, 93/2943, 116/26.
- Dilate, 117/61, 121/22, to show,
declare, open.
- Diogenes, 99/3137.
- Dioscorides, 29/821, flourished
in 2nd century A.D.
- Dirges, 13/336, dirge, corrupted
from *Dirige*, the commencing word
of *Dirige nos, Domine*.
- Discrepation, 151/66, discrepancy,
difference.
- Distaine, 121/27, 132/17, to sully
by contrast.
Her beauty glaneing on the waves
Distains the cheek of fair Proser-
pina. *George Peele*, 430.
- Distast, 100/3193, disgust, dis-
agree with.
- Divisive, 149/17, divisible.
- Dog, phr., "A hair of the same
- dog," 61/1869, the homœopathy of
the period.
- Dores, keep the doors, 86/2724,
2742.
A Pander (Hostlerlike) that walks
a whore,
And for a Fee securely *keeps the*
doore. *Taylor*, 215.
- Drabbes, 80/2525.
The Devils deere *drab* must be
the Church of Rome.
That Church . . . is . . . the devils
whore. *Taylor*, 503.
- Draco, 57/1728.
- Drivell, 98/3098.
- Drugo, 78/2459.
- Drusus, 37/1077, proper name.
- Dubbing, 134/11 } *See Dabbes,*
Dubde, 134/12 } *supra.*
- Ducke, 85/2699, an endearing
term often applied to a child or
young girl.
Will you buy any tape,
Or lace for your cape,
My dainty *duck*, my dear-a?
Winter's T. iv. 4.
- "Eat to live, not live to eat,"
56/1672. "The olde adage saith . . .
. . . we must not live to eat, but we
must eat to live!" *Stubbs's Aut.*,
ed. 1836, p. 109.
- Effeminize, 34/972, to effeminate,
to make womanish or wanton, to
soften by voluptuousness. *P.*
- Elizabeth, 140/84.
- Elohim, 7/112, God.
- Elpinas, 106/3410, hopeful.
- Embase, 127/16, debase.
- Emilia, 90/2877, Emily.
- Eminent, 101/3231, imminent.
- Emperie, 35/1024, empire.
Measuring the limits of his *empiry*
By east and west, as Phœbus doth
his course. *Marlowe*, 10.
- Enable, 12/272, to encourage, to
make firm, to strengthen.

- Enact, 39/1156, commit.
- Enditers, 28/816, inditers, composers, writers. Cp. "My heart is *inditing* of a good matter." *Psalm xlvi. P. B. Vers.*
- Epainnutus, 37/1085, praise.
- Equipage, 58/1764.
- Eringoes, 87/2773. Eringo, sea-holly, the roots of which, being candied, made excellent sweat-meats; they were considered provocatives.
- Errant, 146/17.
- Estrange, 129/35
- Eulalius, 76/2385, eloquent.
- Eve, 32/915.
- Except, 9/164, accept.
- Exoration, 80/2511, a prayer, a desire or wish.
- Extenuate, 96/3042.
- Eyen, 56/1686, eyes.
His angry *eyne* look all so glaring bright. *Hall's Satires*, v. 1.
- Fact, 48/1451, act, deed.
And praise his gentle soule and wish it well,
And of his friendly *facts* full often tell. *Hall's Satires*, iv. 2.
- Families of Love, 9/196, sometimes called Familiasts. See Note, p. xxix.
- Fatuo, 44/1311, a fool.
- Faune, 137/56, fawn.
- Faustus, 53/1625. Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* first appeared about 1590. It was published in quarto in 1604, and again in 1616.
- Fawkes, 12/291.
- Fees, 27/780, rewards.
- Felt, 27/751, a hat.
- Figs of Spaine, 39/1153, a kind of poison.
- Fire, phr., "to give false fire," 122/51, to raise a false alarm.
- Flat, "that 's flat," 39/1166, that is certain, or clear. "The boy hath sold him a bargain, a goose, *that's flat.*" *Love's L. L.* iii. 1.
- Flavia, 45/1331.
- Fleece, 86/2718, to rob, plunder, strip.
To *fleese* and *flea* the simple wretche,
to pylfer and to powle.
- Neices out of Powles*, Sat. 2.
- Flincher, 59/1801, one who gives over.
- Fond, 13/329, foolish.
- Foulnouthd, 152/1.
- Fox, 58/1762, 59/1806, 1807, to make drunk. "No man must call a Good-fellow Drunkard . . . but say . . . He is *foxt.*" 1635. *Heywood, Philocothonista*, p. 60. "The liquor . . . would *fox* a dry Traveller, before he had half quencht his thirst." 1639. *J. Taylor, Trauels*, p. 8. "You were never so *fox'd* but you knew the way home." *Ib.* p. 46.
- Fox, 64/1985, crafty fox, a clever rogue.
- Frenchifide, 80/2518, made like a Frenchman. See Ladifide, *infra*.
- Frie, "the yoonger frie," 15/386, the younger children.
Thither went the doctors,
And sattin-sleev'd proctors,
With the rest of the learned *fry.*
Bp. Corbet's Poems, ed. 1807, Intro. xxiii.
- Fucata, 24/661, painted.
- Fueus, 34/973, a red dye, rouge.
- Fulsome, 127/1, nauseous.
- Fume, 105/3368, angry humour.
- Fumoso, 72/2237, well-smoked, smoke-dried, smoky.
- Furder, 12/270, further.
- Gabrina, 85/2699.

Galen, 29/822. Claudius Galen, d. A.D. 200; M. Galen in 1573.

Galla, 82/2581, proper name.

Gallieus morbus, 80/2519.

The Spanish Pip, or else the *Gallian Morbus*,

Bone-bred diseases, mainly doe
disturbe vs. *Taylor*, 178.

The *Galliae Morbus* or the Scottish
fleas,

Or English Poxe, for all's but one
disease. *Ib.* 549.

Ganymede, 79/2470.

Garnet, 12, note.

Geason, 113/15, this word generally means searee, rare; as,

Base Death, that took away a
man so *geason*,

That measur'd every thought by
time and season. *Greene*, 279.

Good men are scarce, and honest
men are *geason*. *Taylor*, 404.

George, 60/1814, 61/1879.

Gives, 95/3019, shackles, or fetters.

Manacles, and Bolts, and *Gives*,
Which fetter vs in bondage all
our liues. *Taylor*, 291.

Glabria, 82/2567, one who loves
a beardless youth.

Gogle, 98/3099, goggle.

Golde, King Harries golde, 61/
1876. See Note, p. xxxv.

Grandams, 29/836, grandmothers.

If our Grand-fathers and *Grand-*
dams should

Rise from the dead. *Taylor*, 488.

Gray-beard, 66/2038, 69/2135.

Grease . . . in the fist, phrase,
43/1269, 48/1442. "If you have
argent, or rather *rubrum unguentum*,
I dare not saie gold, but red oint-
ment to *grease them in the fist* with-
all, theu your sute shall want no
furtheraunce." *Stubbs's Anat.*, ed.
1836, p. 129.

Would now that Matho were the
Satyrist,

TIMES' W.

That some fat bribe might *grease*
him in the fist.

Hall's Satires, iv. 5.

Greece of Amber, 36/978. See
Amber.

Guld, 29/838, cheated, deceived.

"But my Gowne-brother promised
mee good stufte . . . and verily
did *gull* mee." Sam. Rowlands,
Diogenes Lanthorne, sig. B. 1628.

Gull, 29/843, a cheat, a deceiver.

Gulles, 13/320, people easily de-
ceived.

Hackny, 86/2720, hackney wo-
men, women who let out, etc., as
explained in ll. 2720-1.

Had I wist, 40/1194, a proverbial
phrase = had I known; an expres-
sion of regret.

When dede is doun, hit ys to lat;
be ware of *had-y-wyst*.

Qu. Eliz. Achad. p. 42.

Clad in a Gowne of mourning *had*
I wist. *Taylor*, 165.

See also *Marlore*, 201, and *Gowre's*
Conf. Amant. i. 105, ed. 1857.

Haire, phr., "unto a hair," 72/
2244, 80/2520, to a nicety.

Hannibal, 99/3163.

Hard-favourd, 123/24.

Harry (Henry VIII.), 61/1876.

Heliogabalus, 59/1786.

Hell-bread, 45/1342, hell-bred.

Cp. *hell-borne* (*Taylor*, 511), and
hell-begot (*Ib.* 535).

Hell-hatched, 37/1079, 58/1741.

For ther's no habite of *hell-hatched*
sinne,

That we delight not to be clothéd
in. Sam. Rowlands, *The Let-
ting of Hemors Blood*, etc.,
sig. A. 2.

Down must tumble
The Nimrods proud cloud-piercing
Babylon

Like *hell-hatch'd* pride.
Taylor, 500.

Hell-hatcht plots. *Ib.* 501.

- Hell-hound, 42/1249.
Yet all their liues here they with
cares are vext,
Slaues in this world, and *Hell-*
hounds in the next.
Taylor, 489.
- Helottes, 58/1755, Spartan serfs
or bondmen.
- Hercules, 66/2057.
- Herod, 36/1059.
- Hiew, 7/98, hue.
- Hight, 123/19, 124/9, called,
named.
- Hippoeras, 62/1918, a beverage
composed of wine, with spiees and
sugar, strained through a cloth.
It is said to have taken its name
from *Hippocrates' sleeve*, the term
apothecaries gave to a strainer. *H.*
- Hippolytus, 69/2164.
- Histrographers, 100/3168, histo-
riographers.
- Hobnol, 22/604, ? a countryman.
“Hobbinol, as most readers are
aware, was the poetic name of
Gabriel Harvey.” *George Peele*,
583, note by Ed. G. Harvey died
about 1630.
- Hoggishlie, 14/344, hoglike.
- Homebred, 114/36.
- Home-spun.
Home-spun medley of my mottley
braines. *Taylor*, 387.
- Honorius, 98/3120, pertaining to
honour.
- Horace, 28/815.
- Horn, give him not the horn, 78/
244, don’t make him a euckold.
- Houreglassé, 53/1627.
- Hunger-starved, 57/1705.
Meanwhile the *hunger-starv’d* ap-
petuance
Must bide the brunt, whatever
ill mischance.
Hall’s Satires, v. 2.
- Hutch, 60/1817, like lord within
a “hutch;” hutch means a chest.
- Here the sense seems to be “like a
lord standing among his riches.”
- Hippocrates, 29/822, Hippocrates,
d. B.C. 357.
- Hypolitus, 98/3110, Hippolytus,
a son of Theseus and of Hippolyte.
The story of Hippolytus and Phæ-
dra is well known.
- I, 46/1388, and elsewhere, Aye.
“The motion was hotly canvas’d
in the house of Peers, and like to
pass, when the Lord Paget rose up
and said, ‘I, but who shall sue the
king’s bond?’ so the business was
dash’d.” *Hovel’s Fam. Letters*, ed.
1678, p. 135.
- Icarus, 132/9.
- Ice, 3/38, phr., “To break the
ice,” to open or commence a sub-
ject, or conversation.
- Ies, 41/1207, ?eyes, searches, ex-
amines.
- Iet, phr., “jet it,” 86/2726,
struts.
- And, Midas-like, he *jets* it in the
court,
With base outlandish cullions at
his heels. *Marlowe*, Ed. Sec.
(Works, ed. Dyce, p. 193).
- Iet, 72/2248, a stream of water.
Fr. *jet*.
- Iezebel, 34/965.
- Iframde, 128/3, framed.
- “Ignorance is the mother of de-
votion,” phr., 11/244.
The woman, musing little at the
motion,
Said, *ignorance is the Mother of
Devotion*.
- If Ignorance be mother then (said
he)
Sure darknesse must her onely
daughter be. *Taylor’s Pedlar
and Priest*, p. 21.
- Immediatly, 6/89, without the
intervention of anything.
- Imp, 46/1363, child. “An *impe*
of Sathan, and a limme of th

- deuill." *Stubbs's Anat.*, ed. 1836, p. 119.
- Impostume**, 2/12.
The Common wealths *Impostum* hee doth cut,
And the corruption in his purse
doth put. *Taylor*, 495.
- Inchoation**, 3/56, a beginning of any work. *P.*
- Index**, phr., "The face is index to the heart," 23/631-2.
- Inly**, 99/3159.
- Innocuous**, 64/1955, harmless.
- Intend**, 56/1696, fix the mind on, aim at.
..... Men intend,
But God it is that consummates
the end. 17/467-8.
- Paraphrase of "Man proposes, but God disposes."
- Intret**, 132/7, introit, preface.
- Invitement**, 104/3308, invitation.
- Iöle**, 67/1961.
- Ionah**, 149/25.
- Ionson**, 132/1, 17.
- Iosiah** (James I.), 140/91.
- Iot**, 15/401, jot, small space of time.
- Iove** (*Jupiter, planet*), 114/13.
- Irefull**, 105/3376.
- Irus**, 102/3241, the name of a beggar in the house of Ulysses at Ithica.
- It**, 129/4, its.
- It's**
- Iudas**, 20/567, 44/1291.
- Iump**, phr., "many jump," 127/18, coimeide, agree.
Master, for my hand,
Both our inventions meet and
jump in one.
Taming of the Shr. i. 1.
- Iuno**, 38/1122, 93/2942.
- Iupiter**, 131/4.
- Iusted**, 105/3366. "A Gallant
- iustled* him from the wall almost into the kennell." *Taylor*, 352.
- Keepen**, 33/962, keep.
- Kembe**, 34/979, to comb.
- Knights** of the post, 49/1475, professional perjurors.
A *post-knight* that for fие groats
gaine
Would sweare & for foure groats
foreswear't againe.
Taylor, 557.
- Lacklattin**, Sir John, 43/1267, a term of contempt applied to an ignorant parson.
This *sir John Lacklatine*, true course doth keepe,
To preach the Vestry men all fast asleepe. *Taylor*, 493.
- Ladifide**, 133/20, made a lady.
Because his Landlords daughters
(deekt with pride)
With ill-got portions may be
Ladyfide. *Taylor*, 42.
- Thy Female faire, adorn'd and
turpifie,
Should, for thy services be *Ladi-*
fide. *Aqua-Musæ*, 11.
- Landresses**, 89/2838, laundresses.
- Latro**, 108/3462, an assassin.
- Lazarus**, 56/1703.
- Let**, 18/503, a hindrance, an ob-
stacle.
- Let**, 78/2435, to hinder, prevent.
- Lethe**, 131/11(1).
- Letia**, 102/3238, delighting, or taking pleasure in.
- Levi**, 76/2371.
- Levie**, the tribe of, phr., 76/2371, the clergy.
Cease to Abuse the Bishops, and
the *Tribe of sacred Levi*.
Aqua-Musæ, p. 9.
- Lidian**, 88/2800, the Lydian stone.
- Liew**, 9/164, lieu.
- Lightly come, lightly go**, prov., 89/2828.

- Lightsome, 85/2681, cheerful.
- Lineeus, 81/2563, Lynceus. See *note*, p. 81.
- Linne, 91/2893, lin, to cease, to stop.
Forth then shotten these children 2,
and they did neuer *lin*
Vntill they came to merry church-
lees,
to Merry churhlee with-in.
Percy Po., ed. Hales and
Furnivall, i. 55.
- Lip-labour, 102/3252.
- Littleton, 46/1380.
- Loaf, prov., "Tis safest gutting at
a loaf begun," 76/2393, may be for
"cutting at," etc.
- Lockram band, 27/755, a band
or collar to the shirt made of *lock-
ram*, which was of a finer texture
than the shirt itself.
Hempseed doth yeeld or else it
doth allow
Lawne, Cambricke, Holland, Can-
nase, Callico,
Normandy, Hambrough, strong
poledanis, *Lockram*.
Taylor, 549.
- Loose, 17/452, to lose.
- Lop, 88/2809, to lop off, cut away.
- Lot, 75/2347.
- Loutish, 58/1756, clownish.
- Lovelock, 34/971, a pendant lock
of hair, falling near or over the ear,
and cut in a variety of fashions.
- Lozell, 130/8, a worthless fellow.
Sot, I say, *losel*, lewdest of all
swains. *George Peele*, 561.
- Lucius, 36/1063, proper name.
- Luctantia, 100/3187, L. *luctans*,
struggling, reluctant.
- Luna, 115/44.
- Lunacy, 51/1549. The MS. reads
lunary. Mr Halliwell's note on the
latter word is:—"The herb moon-
wort. This herb was formerly be-
lieved to open the locks of horses'
feet. See Harrison, p. 131. Some
- of our early dramatists refer to it
as opening locks in a more literal
sense."
- Lurch, 46/1364, to evade, neglect.
There's a crue of Thieues that prie
and *lurch*,
And steale and share the liuings
of the Church. *Taylor*, 279.
- Lusco, 82/2571, one who is de-
prived of something.
- Ly, 34/977, lye. "Will Back-
stead the Plaier cast his *Chamber-
lye* out of his window?" *Taylor*,
342. *Sce 1 Hen. IV. ii. 1.*
- Machivillian, 49/1467, 94/2963.
Thou . . . hast beeene a *Machiuilian*,
For damned sleights, conceits, and
policie. *Taylor*, 510.
Hee's no state-plotting *Machiui-
lian*. *Ib.* 535.
- Mahomet, 51/1561.
- Maiæ, 115/37.
- Malago, 62/1915, Malaga wine.
Little were your gaine,
By *Mullegoes*, Canaries Sacke from
Spaine. *Taylor*, 549.
- Malicing, 94/2956, maligning,
envying.
I willingly receive th' imperial
crown,
And vow to wear it for my coun-
try's good,
In spite of them shall *malice* my
estate. *Marlowe*, 9.
- Manlius, 106/3398, proper name.
- Marchpaine stuffe, 87/2773.
"Marchpanes are made of verie
little flower, but with addition of
greater quantitie of filberds, pine
nuts, pistacees, almonds, and rosed
sugar." *Markham's Country Farme*,
1616, p. 585, quoted in H.
They sell so deare and take such
gaine,
that well they may afoorde
To set fine *Marchpanes* and such like
upon their seruaunts boorde.
*Newes out of Powles
Churcharde*, Sat. 4.

- Marle, 68/2130, marvel. "I
marle in what dull cold nook he
found this lady out." *Ev. Man Out
of H.* ii. 1.
- Marmalade, 87/2772, a confection
commonly made of quinces.
Greeneginger, Sucket, Suger Plate,
and *Marmaladie* fine.
*Nexes out of Powles Church-
garde*, Sat. 4.
- Mars, 26/732, 82/2590, 115/19.
- Mary (Queen), 139/82.
- Massie, 47/1422, massive.
To make a Globe to serue this
massie earth. *Taylor*, 236.
- Maudline, 64/1959, corruption of
Magdalene. "With *Maudlin* sor-
row . . . they have wept with very
griefe." *Taylor*, *Apology for P.
Preaching*, p. 7.
- Maw, 101/3226, stomach.
- May, 65/2010, the blossom of the
white or haw-thorn.
- Meacocke, 27/783, a silly effemi-
nate fellow. "Some are suche
peasantes and such *maicokes*, that
either they will not, or . . . they
dare not, reprove them for it." *Stubbs's Anat.*, ed. 1836, p. 105.
"He (The Great Eater of Kent) is
no puling *Meacocke*, nor in all his
life time the queasinessse of his
stomacke needed any sawey spurre
or switch of sowre *Veriuice*." *Taylor*, 156.
- Mechanico, 24/655, mechanic,
wright.
- Mediocrity, 71/2210, moderation.
- Medusa, 23/623.
- Mercury, 115/38.
- Messalina, 77/2424, the name of
the profligate wife of Claudius.
- Messe, 60/1826, number.
- Microcosme, 8/145, 92/2908.
"Microcosme, or little world, Man." *Minsh.* 1627.
I haue a heart doth like a Mon-
arch raigne,
- Who in my *Microcosme* doth lawes
ordaine. *Taylor*, 208.
- Midas, 45/1351.
- Mirre-breathing, 38/1112, having
sweet breath.
- Mirrha, 82/2595, Myrrha.
- Misotochus, 99/3129, man-hater.
- Misthink, 67/2086, think amiss.
- Mollified, 45/1327, softened.
- Monists, 111, fault-finders, carp-
ing critics, so named from Momus.
- Momus, 152/1.
- Moncking-stock, 5/23, perhaps
for mocking-stock. "One that doth
purpose to make this towne a ies-
ting *mocking stocke* throughout the
whole Kingdome." *Taylor*, 356.
Cf. *laughing-stock*.
- Montaigne, 28/813.
- Mony-taker, 48/1442, a receiver
of bribes.
- Mopsa, 100/3181. "Mopsey, a
term of endearment." *H.* See the
Anatomic of Abuses, p. 169. "Hande-
kercheifes . . . borrowed for the
moste parte of their *pretie mopsies*
and louyng bessies, for bussynge
them in the darcke."
- Moros, 28/789, L. *mos*, manners.
- Morpheus, 137/14.
- Muskadine, 62/1918, 88/2778, a
rich wine; museadel.
The wind no *Muskadine* could
hither bandy,
Or sprightly Malmesey out of
fruitfull Candy. *Taylor*, 549.
- Mutius, 100/3199, changed in
circumstances.
- Nænius, 99/3153, a heaping up
of praise, or commendation.
- Nappy ale, 71/2224, strong ale.
- Narcissus, 34/984.
- Nathlesse, 23/624, nevertheless.
- Neandrem, 134, ? Newman.
- Nebuchadnezar, 149/23.

- Necessity, that hath no law, 46/1379, a quibble on the phrase, "Necessity has, or knows, no law."
- Nectar, 62/1913, the drink of the gods; hence, a delicious or inspiring beverage.
- What god soever holds thee in his arms,
Giving thee *nectar* and ambrosia.
Marlowe, 53.
- Neighbour, 52/1594, 140/94, neighbouring.
- The hope of Persia
That holds us up and foils our neighbour foes.
Tamburlaine, i. 1.
- Neotimus, 38/1121, an upstart.
- Nepenthe, 62/1914, the name of an Egyptian drng which lulled sorrow for the day. Gr. *νηπενθης*, removing all sorrow.
- Neptune, 75/2353, 131/6, 143/2.
- Nessus, 66/2059.
- Nill, 120/31, ne will, will not.
[I] left my mill to go with thee,
And *nill* repent that I have done.
Greene, 264.
- Nisus, 23/645, proper name.
- Noble, 48/1443, the name of a coin. "A *Noble* in money . . . six shillings and eightpence in England, where there hath beene an old English coine of gold called an *Edward Noble* . . . worth some fifteeene shillings sterlign, and is the Rose *Noble* . . . as I take it, now worth seuen shillings, and six pence." *Minsch*. 1627.
- Nocivous, 147/33, hurtful.
- Nonce, 60/1831, occasion.
- Nothus, 80/2513, spurious, illegitimate.
- Obeisaunce, 25/703, obedience.
- Obnubilate, 135/14, darken, confound, cloud over. "Immoderate slepe . . . doth obfuske and doth obnebulate the memory." *Andrew Boorde's Dyetary*, p. 244, ed. Furnivall.
- Mans vnderstanding's so *obnubilate*,
- That when thercon I doe excogitate,
Intrinsicall and querimonious paines,
Doe puluerise the concave of my braines. *Taylor*, 404.
- Observancie, 89/2830, respect, obsequiousness.
- Occasion, as occasion serves, 97/3062, as opportunity offers, or presents.
- Occurrentes, 104/3307, occurrences.
- Oddes, phr., "by odds," 11/259, 62/1914. "The *ods* is, my Cormorants appetite is limited, but most of theirs is vnsatiable." *Taylor*, 483.
- Oldeorn, 12, *note*.
- On, on's, 94/2976, 2986, of his.
Look how his brains drop out *on's* nose. *Jew of Malta*, iv.
- One, 4/9, on. This form is not common in other writers of this period.
- One, phrase, "all one with," 30/866, equivalent to.
- Opifice, 7/104, workmanship, L. *opificium*, from *opifex*.
- Orestes, 126/7(2).
- Orgia, 106/3380.
- Orleance, 62/1917, wine from Orleans. "From France Red, White, elaret, *Orleance*." Heywood's *Philotho*. p. 48.
- Orpheus, 93/2934.
- Ugly, 23/638, 37/1100, ugly.
- Overqunell, 112/5, overcome.
- Oxe, phr., "A right ox," 64/1986.
- Pact, 39/1166, packed, sent; often "be off," as,

- 'Tis time, I think, to trudge, *pack*
and be gone. *Com. of Er.* iii. 2.
Pallas, 93/2940.
Pamphila, 98/3105, all-loving.
Pamphlet, 29/842. "Should I
write all that I am truly informed,
my Booke would out-swell the
limits of a *Pamphlet.*" *Taylor,* 74.
Pandarus, 50/1529. *See* Troilus
and Cressida.
Papistrie, 4/16.
Yea, and a church, unspotted, pure,
From dregs of *papistrie* secure.
A Poem on New England,
Ined. Mise. 1870.
I may be mannerly
In Gods House, and be free from
Papistrie.
Taylor, Mad Fashions, p. 7.
Pasiphæ, 82/2593.
Passion, "void of passion, void
of good," phr., 96/3038.
Pelt, 27/752, a skin. "The Lord
... gane them *peltes*, *felles*, and
skins of beastes to make them gar-
ments withal." *Anat. of Abuses*, p.
20.
Peppercorne, 65/2010.
Peter, S., 35/1014, 149/31.
Phaeton, 34/995, 76/2367, 131/l.
Phalerno, 62/1917, a wine now
known as Falernian wine, from
Mount Falernus, in Italy.
Philarchus, 39/1143, a lover of
authority, or the power which
comes of wealth.
Philautus, 97/3071, self-love.
"Such as give themselves to *phi-*
lantia . . . are choleric of com-
plexion." *Greene*, 204.
Philogonous, 76/2391, loving his
children; here his flock is probably
meant.
Phisicall, 71/2212, medicinal.
Phœbe, 41/1212, the moon-god-
dess, sister of Phœbus, or Sol.
Phœbus, 103/3295, 144/21.
Phœdra, 98/3109. *See* Hippo-
litus, *supra*.
Phorbus, 102/3255, fear.
Phrygian, 79/2470.
Pickle, 60/1841, condition of
drunkenness.
Where should they
Find this grand liquor that hath
gilded 'em?
How camest thou in this *pickle?*
Temp. v. 1.
Pils of Italy, 39/1153, a kind of
poison.
Pinne, 58/1742, phr., "not worth
a pin," of no value.
Pistor, 53/1601, miller, baker.
Pithias, 24/654, Pythias. *See*
Damou, supra.
Pixes, 13/333, pix, the sacred
vessel in which the Host is kept.
Plato, 29/823.
Pluto, 99/3162.
Polte-foot, 98/3101, a club foot.
Polupragma, 103/3305, many
matters, well rendered in the same
line by "Tittle-tattle."
Poppaea, 36/1037, L. a cosmetic
made of dough moistened with
asses' milk.
Pot companion, 59/1795.
Poyns, 69/2135, tagged laces
used in dress. *To truss a point*
was to tie the laces which held the
breeces: *to untruss a point* was to
untie them.
Praise, prov., "A man's praises
in his own mouth stink," 37/1089.
Pratle, 163/3306, prattle.
Precians, 10/213, persons who
are over scrupulous in matters of
religion. "I will set my counten-
ance like a *precision*." *Marlowe*, 82.
"Corbet was certainly no *preci-*
sian." *Gilchrist's Corbet*, xxxi.
Pre-devine, 146/18.
Pre-indicate, 146/19.

- Pre-ordainde, 101/3216.
 Profunditude, 149/12.
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 Prospective, 145/48.
 Protasis, 111, beginning; protasis and catastrophe, commencement and ending.
 Proteus, 128/6, 129/31.
 Provocatives, 87/2765.
 Psyche, 117/29.
 Ptolomeus, 29/823, Ptolemy.
 Put up all, phr., 105/3361, put up with all, endure all.
 Putrefaction, 70/2178, putrifying.
 Quadruplicity, 117/43.
 Quailes, 145/67, quells, cows.
 Quarrell, 61/1852, combat, bout.
 Quaternall, 150/27, fourfold.
 Quean, 36/1053.
 Quintus, 82/2568.
 Quite, 81/2537, requite.
 Lose more labour than the gain shall quite. *Marlowe*, 17.
 Quoted, 63/1937, same as *cote, supra*.
 Rafe (Ralph), 60/1814, 61/1880.
 Rape, 128/12, prey. Cf. *rapine*.
 Ravaillac, 12/283. See *n. p. x.*
 Reassume, 126/15.
 Recordation, 68/2108, the act of recording, mentioning, writing.
 Recover, 100/3176, return to, reach. "I swam, ere I could recover the shore, five and thirty leagues off and on." *Tempest*, iii. 2.
 Recure, 2/14, 130/11, to cure, heal.
 A smile recures the wounding of a frown. *Venus and Adonis*, 465.
 And to recure me from this strange quandary,
 Hence Vsquebaugh, and welcome sweet Canary. *Taylor*, 179.
 Regiment, 99/3162, kingdom, rule.
 Four elements
 Warring within our breasts for regiment. *Marlowe*, 18.
 Repent, 53/1628, 142/3, repentance.
 Repurifie, 38/1118, purged, made pure.
 Residence, monthly residence, 102/3245. Reference to Canons of Cathedral Churches being "in residence" one month in the year.
 Rhamnusiae, 135/7, Nemesis.
 Rhamnusian, 2/1.
 Rhenish, 62/1918.
 No Rhenish from the Rheine would be apparent.
 Taylor, p. 549.
 Rising, prov., "A sudden rising hath a sudden fall," 39/1142.
 Rivolet, 116/22, rivulet.
 Romanus, 102/3245.
 Roring boy, 47/1397, roring boyes, 62/1889, riotous fellows who took delight in annoying quiet people. "And many sat there [in the Parliament] that were more fit to have been among roaringboys than in that assembly." *Court & Times of James I. i. 322.*
 Like shamelesse double sex'd Hermaphrodites,
 Virago Roaring Girles. *Taylor*, 43.
 Sometimes these disturbers of the peace were called "roarers." See *News From Hell, Hull, and Halifax, etc.*, p. 43.
 Rost, phr., "to rule the rost," 117/64, to have most influence.
 Roundly, 81/2556, vigorously, without fear.
 Rushes, phr., "picking rushes," 90/2882, idling away the time.

- Ruffino, 47/1397, It. *ruffiano*, a pimp. "She will . . . cause thy throat to be cut by her *Ruffano*." *Coryate*, 264/4.
- Salamander, 118/76, 119/108.
- Sampson, 25/688.
- Sanctimonious, 10/224, holy, full of sanctity; used in a *good* sense, as it is in
All *sanctimonious* ceremonies may
With full and holy rite be minister'd. *Temp. iv. 1.*
- Sardanapalus, 59/1785.
- Saturn, 114/7.
- Sawe, 37/1088, "Saw, saying," proverb.
- Scanderbeg, 25/687. Died, 1467.
- Scilla, 82/2575, Scylla.
- Score, 81/2561, to cut, or mark.
- Scotus, 27/767, Scott, probably a fling at one of James's courtiers.
- Scullian, 133/11.
- Securril, 136/26, scurrilous.
- Sea, 51/1564, see. "And now I speake of Rome euen in her *Sea*." *Taylor*, 484.
- Seld, 120/5, seldom, not often.
Seeld and *seldome* can they helpe
to keepe the good from harme.
Newes out of Powles, Sat. 2.
- Seller, 60/1829, cellar.
- Sempronia, 77/2417, proper name.
- Separists, 15/375, separatists. See note, p. xxx.
- Sharke, 85/2694, to cheat, to "sponge." Cf.
The *sharking* tricks
Of cooz'ning Tradsmen.
Taylor, 210.
- Sheet, standing in a sheet, 104/
3342, customary mode of punishment for a certain sin.
- Shelfe, 43/1288, a ledge of rock.
- Shend, 68/2103, 121/42, to protect, defend.
- Give laud to him that loveth Israel,
And sing his praise that shendeth David's fame.
George Peele, 471.
- Sherry, 62/1916.
- Gascoigne, Orleance, or the Chrystall *Sherrant*. *Taylor*, 549.
- Ship, made a ship out, 106/3411, fitted out a ship.
- Shoe, to tread the shoe awry, 81/
2542, to leave the path of virtue. This is probably Taylor's meaning : —"He bade me leave prating, for I hindred him from mending Alderman Pennington's shooes, (who had gone much aside,) and that his espeiall care and charge was, to set him upright if it were possible." *Complaint of Christmas*, p. 3.
- Shoes, prov., "He who waits for dead men's shoes goes barefoot," 106/3408.
- Shoone, 27/754, *pl.* of shoe, shoes.
- Shroundes, 151/58, coverings or a shelter. "They turne them [the poor] out of their *shrouds* as mice." *B. Gilpin's Sermon*, p. 33.
- Siccity, 117/54, dryness.
- Sillie, 25/710, seely, simple.
- Silvanus, 137/4.
- Silvius, 90/2851, proper name.
- Simple, 147/36, simples, medicinal plants.
- Simplician, 148/78, simpleton.
- Simpring, 29/829, simpering.
- Simula, 26/733, pretence.
- Sir, 28/807, a scholastic title, the translation of *dominus* commonly applied to priests and curates.
- Skip-iacke, 71/2219, a dandy, a puppy.
Iacke of Newbery I will not re-peate,
Nor Iaeke of both sides, nor of Skip-Iacke neate. *Taylor*, 123.
- Skin, leap out on's, 94/2976, to be beyond one's self with joy.

- Skull, 71/2218.
 Slavering, 43/1259.
 She mumbled and she *slavered*,
 and she spun. Taylor, *A Pedlar
 and a Romish Priest*, p. 20.
 Sleas, 129/18, slays.
 Sleeve, "pinned upon the," phr.,
 28/784.
 This gallant *pins* the wenches on
 his *sleere*. *Lore's L. L.* v. 2.
 Snake, 71/2221, a poor wretch; a
 term of reproach.
 Snowt-faire, 34/975, contemptible,
 coxcombical.
 Snuffe, 60/1833, a very small
 quantity. Cf.
 When as is spent his credit and
 chink,
 And he quite wasted to a *snuffe*.
 Taylor, 214.
 Sodomeo, 79/2467.
 Sol, 113/19, 115/26.
 Solomon, 147/37.
 Solon, 38/1120.
 Sordido, 26/749, sordid, dirty.
 See Ben Jonson, *Every Man out
 of H.*
 Sorrow, phr., "drink down sor-
 row," 62/1894, "to drive dull care
 away" by drinking.
 Source, 113/4, souse, dip. "This
 little barke of ours being *sourst* in
 eunbersome waves." *Optick glasse
 of Humors*, 1639, p. 161, quoted
 in *H.*
 Spare, prov., "He harmes the
 good that doth the evill spare,"
 45/1350.
 Spleenfull, 97/3070.
 Spring, phr., "'Tis sweetest
 drinking at the spring," 60/1830.
 Spurio, 77/2421, false-one.
 Spurt, 79/2494, probably an error
 for sport.
 Stage-plaies, 127, 19.
 Starke, 147/52, mere, sheer.
 Stationer, 28/806, a bookseller.
 See *Taylor*, 228.
 Stint, 89/2808, stop.
 Stolido, 45/1352, dunce.
 Stones, 87/2769, *testes*.
 Stound, 129/17, an instant of
 time.
 Stow, 81/2544, bestow.
 Straw, 5/21, phr., "Not to set a
 straw by," to hold in small esteem.
 String, phr., "lead in a string,"
 76/2383.
 Following their Vickers steps in
 every thing,
 He led the parish even by a string.
 Sam. Rowlands, *The Letting
 of Hemours Blood*, etc., Epi.
 37.
 String, a golden, 44/1307.
 Stroke, phr., "bear the stroke,"
 92/2917.
 Strouting, 89/2844, swelling out.
 Sulpitia, 78/2441, proper name.
 Sumner, 81/2538, summoner, ap-
 paritor.
 Swinge, 71/2232, swing, bent,
 inclination.
 Sword-fish, 145/70.
 Tagus, the river, and its golden
 sand, 116/21.
 The sands of Tagus all of burnish'd
 gold. *Greene*, 90.
 Take me e're, 72/2251, take me
 to any; show me.
 Tamburlaine, 25/686. Mar-
 lowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* was
 probably written before 1590. It
 was printed in 8vo in 1592, and in
 4to, in 1605 and 1606.
 Tane, 26/739, taken.
 Taurus, 48/1449, bull.
 Tellus, 41/1209, Earth, as a deity.
 Temerus, 104/3318, rashness.
 Tempe, 116/12.

- Tender-nosd, 112/11.
- Thersites, 43/1255. "Thersites, a deformed and scurrilous Greeian," *Troi. and Cres.*, Dram. Pers. It is probable that R. C. gained his idea of Thersites from seeing this Play performed.
- Thetis, 113/3.
- Thieues—receivers, prov., "No receivers no thieves," 89/2818.
- Thrush, prov., "One thrush in the hand is worth two in the bush," 106/3406. "A bird in the hand," &c.
- Timon of Athens, 94/2965.
- Timophila, 103/3279, love-honor.
- Title-tattle, 103/3305.
- Tobacconist, 72/2239, a tobacco-smoker.
The smoakie black-lung puff *Tobacconist*:
Whose ioy doth in Tobacco sole consist. *Taylor*, 511.
See also *Ib.* 214.
- Toiels, 118/82, toils, fatigues.
- Trade, common trade, 83/2626; see next.
- Trade, phr., "The dealing trade," 72/2258. "And why should not Whores haue a Mistris of their owne dealing-trade?" *Taylor*, 261. A gentlewoman of the *dealing trade*
Procur'd her owne sweet piture to be made. Sam. Rowlands, *The Letting of Hemours Blood*, etc., Epi. 29.
- Traine, 87/2761, trick, arrangement.
- Trans, 17/473, trans[ubstantiation].
- Trencher-scraper, 27/771, a menial who works for food. Cf. Trencher-man, trencher-fly (Ash.).
- Trinity, 144/32, three things.
- Troth, 2/21, tell-troth rimes. Tell truth, the phrase was a favourite one at the time. "In 1600 John Lane published his *Tom Tell-troths Message*, and his *Pens Complaint*." Tom *tell-troth* is a foolish gull to thee. *Taylor*, 237.
- Troynovant, 86/2725, London. Like Minos, or iust indging Rhadamant, He walkes the darkesome streets of *Troynovant*. *Taylor*, 491. See also *George Peele*, 543.
- Tuffe, 27/752, tough.
- Turnus, 49/1465, Latin name. Come, now, as *Turnus* 'gainst Æneas did. *Marlowe*, 39.
- Tyranness, 92/2917.
- Veneria, 83/2622, Venus.
- Venus, 77/2418, 87/2753, 93/2939, 97/3072, 115/32, 131/2.
- Ver, 126/13, spring.
- Vilde, 44/1321, 68/2120, vile. Goe but to Spaine, and shew thy vild condition. *Taylor*, *A Pedlar and a Romish Priest*, p. 8.
- This form is sometimes used in the folio *Shakespeare*, 1623.
- Virgil, 28/815.
- Vitellius, 89/2825.
- Vixen, 106/3394.
- Vnease, 82/2579, expose. In a literal sense—
Tranio, at onec
Vnease thee; take my coloured hat and cloak.
Taming of a Sh. i. 1.
- Vndermining, 44/1317, undermining bribes, bribes which procure one to commit unlawful or dishonourable actions.
They
Have hired me to *undermine* the duchess.
And buz these conjurations in her brain. 2 *Hen. VI. i. 2.*
- Vnkemd, 27/760, uncombed, untrimmed.

Her unkemb'd locks asunder tearing. <i>Marlowe</i> , 345.	Warrantize, 12/275, to warrant, promise.
Vntemperate, 58/1763, intemperate.	Whilome, 121/37, once, formerly. Thou Saint (quoth he) I <i>whilome</i> did adore. <i>Taylor</i> , 388.
Vntrust, 69/2135, unfastened. See 'poynts,' <i>supra</i> .	Whipping-cheer, 13/332. "Nowe and then not a fewe haue <i>whipping cheare</i> to feede themselves withall." <i>Stubbs's Anat.</i> ed 1836, p. 111.
Vntwitten, 132/15, ?	Whit, "ne're a whit," phr., 100/3190, not in the least.
Votarius, 102/3271, wish, desire.	Wilde-fyer, 145/66.
Vp, phr., "Up and tells," 122/55, tells without hesitation.	Wishers, prov., "Great wishers and common woulders seldom good householders," 103/3277.
Vpsefreeze, 60/1816, a kind of beer imported from Friesland. Cf. <i>upse-Dutch</i> , <i>upse-English</i> . "To drink upse-freeze;" "to drink swinishly;" to drink all off at a swig. This valiant pot-leach, that upon his knees	Worser, 75/2358.
Has drunk a thousand pottles <i>vp se freeze</i> . <i>Taylor</i> , 487.	Wreck, 97/3070, wreak, inflict.
See also Heywood's <i>Philocothonista</i> , p. 45, where one of the names for a drunkard is "One that drinkes <i>Vpse-freeze</i> ."	Yeie, 125/9, icy.
Vulcan, 82/2588, 117/38.	Yelad, 30/869, clothed.
Warrant, phr., "A warrant sealed with butter," 12/276, an empty promise.	Ycleped, 22/607, called, named.
	Yslaine, 122/56, slain.
	Yspread, 64/1988, spread.
	Yspunne, 27/753, spun.
	Zephyrus, 116/28.

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